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# TO LIMIT UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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## SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

BILLS TO LIMIT UNITED STATES FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
THE UNITED NATIONS

NOVEMBER 18 AND DECEMBER 2, 1971

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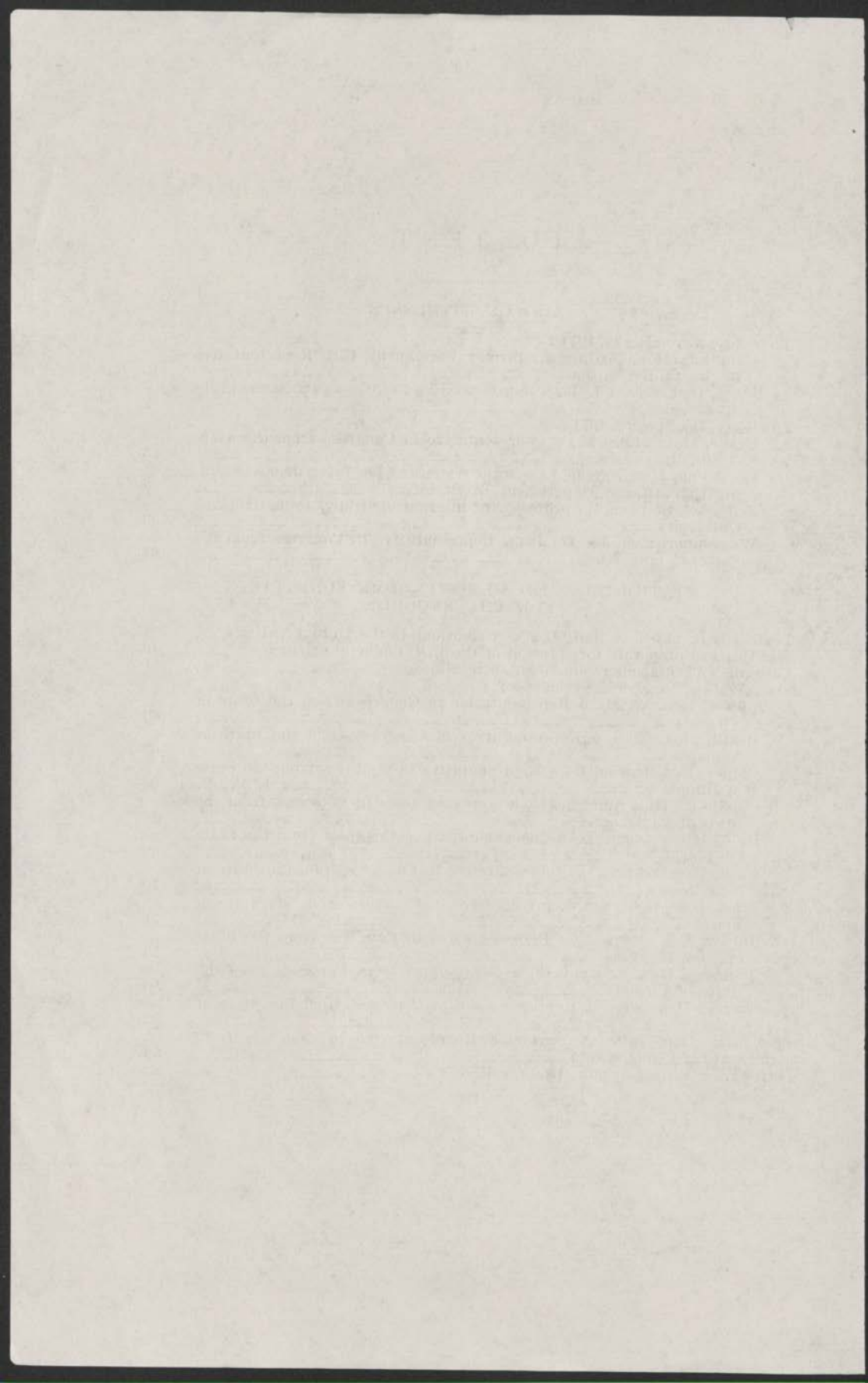
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# TO LIMIT U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1971

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m. in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Donald M. Fraser (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FRASER. The subcommittee will come to order.

The purpose of today's hearing is to consider the proposal made in H.R. 11386 and other identical resolutions to limit U.S. financial contributions to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. Without objection, we will have the bill printed in the record at this point. (The bill referred to follows:)

H.R. 11386 : 92d Cong., first sess.

A BILL To limit United States contributions to the United Nations

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the aggregate amount of assessed and voluntary contributions by the United States to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies for any calendar year after 1971 shall not exceed an amount which bears the same ratio to the total budget of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies as the total population of the United States bears to the total population of all the member states of the United Nations.*

Mr. FRASER. The implications of this proposal are indeed far-reaching, raising some major problems concerning international law and the position of the United States as a leader in international cooperative efforts. In the course of today's hearing, it is important for the subcommittee to address itself to questions such as:

(1) What obligation has the United States incurred under the Charter of the United Nations to pay assessed contributions to the United Nations?

(2) What effect would a reduction such as that proposed in this resolution have on the ability of the United Nations to function?

(3) What benefits accrue to the United States by continuing to be a major contributor to the United Nations?

(4) What is the justification for basing our contributions on population rather than gross national product?

(5) Would this resolution be regarded as retaliation against the defeat of the U.S. position on Chinese representation in the United Nations?

(6) What is the capacity of the United States to make financial contributions to the United Nations compared to the financial capacity of other members?

These and other important questions should be carefully considered in order for the subcommittee to fully understand the implications of this legislation.

We are fortunate in having obtained some expert witnesses eminently qualified to answer the questions raised by this legislation: the three principal sponsors, Representatives Sikes, Crane, and Waggoner; former Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur Goldberg; Assistant Secretary of State Samuel DePalma; and Mr. Stephen Schwebel, professor of international law at Johns Hopkins University.

Congressman Sikes, we are delighted to have you here. We are honored by your presence as one of our most eminent colleagues. Would you proceed, please?

#### STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

MR. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, you are very kind. I do welcome this opportunity to appear.

As I think this committee realizes, I am not an advocate of the United Nations. I try to be objective. I am not influenced by personal considerations. I have not had a personal association with the organization or with any organization having an interest pro or con in the U.N. Perhaps this gives me more freedom of expression.

From my standpoint, I don't think the American taxpayer is getting his money's worth from the U.S. contributions to the U.N., and in this I include all sums paid to the U.N. and its agencies by our Government.

I am not impressed by the argument that the U.N. represents the only world forum which is available to us. I have seen endless and seemingly useless semantics come out of U.N. debates for years, much of it directed against the United States or our world objectives for peace without surrender to communism.

Also, I see some good being done by some of the U.N. organizations, particularly in health and child programs. I am not impressed by others, such as the ILO which seems largely to be dominated now by the Russians, who by no stretch of the imagination can be called a model for labor policies.

Yet I am a realistic person. I know that the administration and a very substantial number of Congressmen and Senators are going to want to continue our participation in the U.N. and our contributions to it.

So I am directing my interest primarily at helping to put an end to the grandiose scale of payments whereby we pick up half the bill for U.N. operations. Regardless of all other considerations, we can't afford it. This country is broke. We are operating on borrowed money and we are paying our contributions to the U.N. with borrowed money.



We don't have money to give away. The U.S. deficit for the years 1970, 1971, and 1972 will total about \$50 billion. This is an amount equal to the total U.S. deficit for the years 1946 through 1967.

The situation is worsening every year. Even when we helped to rebuild the world following World War II, plus the costs of Korea, plus the tremendous costs of Vietnam, the deficits were not as great as they are now. We are writing blank checks on borrowed money.

The taxpayers are alarmed and unhappy. Sooner or later, they will get the bill for all of our expenditures and they are becoming increasingly concerned about expenditures that are unnecessary. I submit that an unfair share of U.N. expenditures is an unnecessary expense, particularly when no other country even approaches payments as large as ours and many pay little or nothing.

No, Mr. Chairman, the United States is not the richest nation on earth. Our debt is staggering and so are debt costs. Our currency is under attack. Our balance of payments stands at a record deficit. It is time to retrench.

Many bills have been introduced to accomplish a reduction in U.S. contributions to the U.N. The bill which I advocate is cosponsored by 71 Members. There are other bills. We seek an amendment to existing law.

There is a limitation to U.S. contributions to the United Nations and its agencies. I refer you to 22 U.S.C. 262b, which states in part:

No representatives of the United States Government in any international organization after fiscal year 1953 shall make any commitment requiring the appropriation of funds for a contribution by the United States in excess of 33 1/3 percentum of the budget of any international organization for which the appropriation for the United States contribution is contained in the act \* \* \*.

That limitation, Mr. Chairman, is contained in the Department of State Appropriation Act, adopted July 10, 1952, and I am informed it is permanent law.

There will be those who suggest that a limitation on funds is in violation of treaty obligations incurred by ratification of the U.N. Charter. Let me point out that the language just cited was proposed and approved by the U.S. Senate, the same body which ratified the charter.

That body obviously saw no conflict between the language of the amendment and the language contained in the U.N. Charter. It is just as obvious that subsequent Congresses have seen no conflict, for the language continues to stand as the law of the land (Public Law 495, 82d Cong.), and has not been repealed.

Regardless of this situation, we have not adhered to the limitation. We have exceeded it. Let me call to your attention the words "in excess of." If I understand the meaning of this language, our Government's agencies have been violating the intent of the law for years in that we have consistently paid more than 33 1/3 percent of the costs of the U.N. and its agencies.

Since the limitation is in the form of a ceiling, obviously it permits lower payment.

Since the United Nations came into being in 1946, its total expenditures through calendar year 1970 have amounted to \$9.2 billion. Of this amount, the United States has contributed \$3.8 billion, or 41 percent of the total U.N. outlays. In calendar year 1970, the total U.N.



outlay for the operation of U.N. headquarters and Secretariat was \$152 million. Of this amount, the United States contributed \$58.9 million, or about 38 percent of the cost.

The United States is a member of at least 18 United Nations agencies, and there are many other examples of a disproportionate—and possibly illegal—U.S. level of contributions. Our total payment to the U.N. in 1971 is \$335.5 million, not a small sum.

Now the United States is in deep trouble financially. We can no longer carry the present unfair share of the expense of the United Nations. There are too many other areas where tax dollars are more urgently needed, and these urgent areas, particularly domestic programs in the United States, should have prior consideration.

Those witnesses who speak here in support of the taxpayer's position will tell you the taxpayers are tired of being taken for granted when our Government makes excess payments to the United Nations and, by so doing, neglects needed programs at home. It is their money that has been given away so generously throughout the history of the United Nations.

The world picture has changed very greatly since the U.N. was organized. When the great powers met in 1945 to arrive at a means of averting another worldwide war, it appeared that only the United States possessed sufficient economic strength to undertake the financial support of a world organization. Great Britain, Russia, and France had been shattered by the war. Japan and Italy lay defeated and impotent. Germany was crushed and divided. China had been overrun by the Japanese and soon would be taken over by the Communists. With characteristic generosity, the United States undertook to finance the rebuilding of the world.

That was more than a quarter century ago. Today, Russia challenges the United States for world leadership. Japan is an industrial giant. France and Italy are cornerstones in the Common Market. Great Britain is growing stronger. Red China is a nuclear power, is a member of the United Nations, and is making its power and position felt against the United States.

What we propose in the bill now under consideration is a downward revision of the limitation already on the statute books. By following the formula suggested in the bill, the U.S. contribution would be based on the relative populations of the United States and the U.N. member states.

With Communist China now in the U.N., the U.S. percentage of population stands at approximately 6 percent of the total. Russia now has 7.5 percent, and Communist China about 23 percent.

Assuming a billion dollar U.N. budget for the coming year, the U.S. contribution would be about \$60 million instead of the \$350-\$400 million it has been estimated we are spending. Russia would contribute about \$75 million instead of the \$41.9 million contributed by the Soviets in 1970, and Communist China would contribute about \$230 million to the U.N. and its agencies. That seems to be a proper proportionate share of the costs.

While there is little the Congress can do to compel the United Nations to adopt the population formula as official policy, the Congress can—as it has already done—place more stringent limits on our

own expenditures. Possibly, this would bring about a U.N. reexamination of assessment policies and the result could be a formula which ultimately the United States and others, but particularly the United States, would find acceptable.

If there is a single grain of good to come from the United Nations' vote on China, it is that the people and the Congress of the United States, for the first time, now are taking a hard look at that world organization and the U.S. role in it and the cost to our country.

Emphasis on finances has been a long time coming. Many of us have been calling for such a review for more than a decade—long before our good friend and ally, the Republic of China, was cashiered from the world body, to the cheers of a long list of nations who have been our beneficiaries in one way or another, and long before the U.N. resolution of criticism of the Congress for possessing the common sense to demand that our Government follow trade policies which are in our interests, just as other U.N. member nations already are doing.

However, we do not seek retribution. We seek redistribution—redistribution on a fair and equitable basis of the cost of operating the United Nations and associated agencies. The bills under consideration provide a means of achieving the equity we should seek for the working men and women of America—the taxpayers who pay for the commitments which the Congress makes.

Now, finally, I think the average U.S. taxpayer finds it shocking that he is called upon to pay eight times as much to the U.N. as the average Russian. Certainly we are not eight times richer, nor do we receive eight times the benefit from the United Nations. As a matter of fact, as the voting goes, it would appear that the Communists generally may be receiving eight times as much benefit from the U.N. as the democracies.

None of this would indicate that we should be eight times as benevolent. A similar comparison with the taxpayers of other nations is equally disconcerting.

What I propose is not a precedent. There is a limitation now on the statute books, although it is not being followed. I seek only that the present statutory limitation be revised to reflect congressional and public desire for a more equitable formula.

There is no reason that this need be a death blow to the U.N. All that is required is that each nation have sufficient interest to follow the lead of the United States and pay its proportionate share of the U.N.'s expenses. Then the world body would not lose one penny.

Only the load would be shifted, not the dollar return. This involves no violation of our treaty obligations.

More to the point, adoption of the proposed bill will bring about a fair and equitable U.S. share of the U.N. costs. We owe it to the taxpayers to take this step, and if supporters of the United Nations want it to survive, we owe it to that body to allow every nation the full opportunity to share in its operation fairly.

There is no valid argument against equity. There is every argument for it.

I respectfully request your favorable consideration of a bill to limit U.S. payments to the United Nations on the basis of population.



Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for your courtesy in hearing me.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Congressman Sikes.

Let me indicate that we have had a slight change in our scheduling. Congressman Crane had to go to the Ways and Means Committee. Ambassador Goldberg will testify ahead of Mr. Crane, who will be back later.

Mr. FASCELL?

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very pleased to welcome the dean of the Florida delegation to this subcommittee. As usual he has been very candid, cogent, and realistic.

I am not prepared to say that I agree or disagree with the formula laid down in the proposed resolution, Mr. Sikes, but I must agree with you, even though the timing may seem inappropriate to some people for a realistic appraisal or facing up—or “emphasis on” is what I believe you said in your statement—the financial crisis that confronts the U.N. and the role that the United States is playing in the U.N. I could not agree with you more, and perhaps this whole China question is the thing that brought it to a head. But it has been around a long time.

The financial crisis has plagued the Department of State. I know that from my own experience at the U.N. It is a tough issue and it is not going to go away. I think the quicker we get to it, the better off we will be.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. GROSS?

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Sikes, I want to compliment you on an excellent, incisive statement. What has happened recently in the United Nations points up to the people of this country what an exercise in futility it has been. It is worse than an exercise in futility because we are deeply and heavily involved.

I support your bill, but I would go a step further and withdraw from this perfidious outfit.

I thank you for your statement.

Mr. SIKES. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Rosenthal?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, want to welcome our distinguished colleague from Florida and tell him of the great respect we have for him.

I have two general questions.

You have not mentioned the question of the adjustment in the voting structure in the United Nations. That seems to me one way to develop a little more equity, at least in the General Assembly. Have you given any thought to the question of adjustment in the voting pattern?

Mr. SIKES. I have been concerned with the fact that Russia has three votes, everyone else has one. I have assumed that it would be extremely difficult to arrive at any sharing of votes in a different way. I have heard of no effort to change the present unrealistic system.

I don't know how you would get the U.N. to agree to any change in the voting structure. It should follow the “one man-one vote” principle



and be a "one nation-one vote" principle or it should be based on population or contribution.

No effort is being made to change the present system.

I presume our delegates to the U.N. do not want to get into an endless problem, into endless discussion, with little prospect of change for the better.

I would welcome any comments the distinguished gentleman has as to how some different formula might be arrived at.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am sure either Ambassador Goldberg or Mr. DePalma may offer some suggestions. I have been concerned in the General Assembly situations where very small nations have equal vote with other nations. In other words, "one nation-one vote" may not be a realistic appraisal of the world responsibilities and the contributions.

Mr. SIKES. I don't have a formula to suggest.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is it your thought that the nations of Asia and Africa, and indeed the entire world, should contribute financially to the U.N. solely according to population?

Mr. SIKES. Yes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. With no other criterion such as gross national product or economic viability?

Mr. SIKES. I think if you bring in too many different types of formulas you find yourself right back where we are now, so let us base it simply on population. Gross national product can be a very misleading term.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. In your opinion, would the nations of Africa or South America be able to live by this formula?

Mr. SIKES. You would have to cut the cost of the U.N. to more realistic figures. I suspect they have been living rather high since money from the United States has been available generally for the asking. I think you would have to cut the costs of the U.N. and its operations and its agency operations to a figure commensurate with willingness to contribute.

I think if you do that you will find that most nations, if they really want to participate in the organizations, could pay a pro rata share.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Frelinghuysen?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, have been interested in Congressman Sikes' testimony. I must say I find it very unpersuasive. I would think the clearer course would be as Mr. Gross advocates, and that is simply to withdraw from the United Nations, if we are not getting our money's worth, as you say.

You seem to be recognizing the U.N. has some value, but it is not worth the amount we have been putting into it.

How do you determine what is worthwhile for the U.S. taxpayers, Mr. Sikes?

Mr. SIKES. I am taking a literal view of the situation and assume that it is going to be the policy of whatever administration we have that we remain in the United Nations and that there will be no positive effort to take us out of the U.N. organization. That being the case, I am supporting a proposal to reduce our contributions.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The devil's advocate, so to speak. You don't really believe in the U.N. but you believe it should be supported because others do?

Mr. SIKES. No, not necessarily. I think if we are going to stay in it we should pay a lesser part, a more proportionate part, not the lion's share. I see no justification to continue to carry so much of the load. As I said before, we do not have the money to continue to carry such a disproportionate share of the costs. We are paying with blank checks. We are paying with borrowed money. That does not make sense to me.

The U.N. is not that essential to any world activity of which I am apprized. It is a discussion body. It has been years since I have seen anything come out of it that indicates any particular reason for the United States to pay a major part of its costs.

If you want to stay in the forum, all right, but don't pay with borrowed money much more than a reasonable share just to participate in a discussion body.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Of course we are paying our share as presently determined appropriate. You are suggesting a different formula. Your language seems to be so loose, Mr. Sikes. You said just now there is no justification for us to continue to carry the whole load. Even in your statement you don't suggest we are carrying the whole load.

You suggest something else which is inaccurate. You say we can't afford to pick up half the bill for U.N. operations. We don't pick up half the bill for U.N. operations. Your statement indicates we have been putting up less than 40 percent.

Perhaps we could pinpoint what this load is and what relief it would be to the taxpayers if we should reduce our contributions.

Mr. SIKES. I will take your statement of 40 percent. I said "half"; that is a general term. I will take your statement of 40 percent. It is still an unrealistic and unjustifiable figure.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I did not make that statement, Mr. Sikes. I was referring to your statement, on page 2. You suggested that it was about 38 percent of the cost.

I haven't tried to categorize what percentage the United States is contributing. I am saying you are inaccurate in saying that we are bearing the whole load or 50 percent of it. Your own statement indicates we are not providing that amount of money.

Mr. SIKES. I am saying that we should not pay more than our pro rata share based on population in the United States. Is that clear enough, sir?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. That is about the only thing that is clear. What I am saying is that you are saying we are carrying the whole load. Then you say, "That is not what I mean." You say we are putting up 50 percent, and then you say, "That is not what I mean."

I cannot follow your reasoning.

Mr. SIKES. Let me assure the distinguished gentleman I sometimes have difficulty following his reasoning too.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. We could pay this out of our back pocket if it were in our interest, and a lot of us think the U.N. is in our interest. It is not a question of "Can we support substantial domestic programs and also support the U.N.?"

Even under your own formula there would only be a reduction of about \$250 million that we are now providing the U.N., so that is not



going to provide a new source of funds. There would be no major relief for taxpayers if we should follow your suggestions, which I hope we will not.

How do you say we can't afford it?

Mr. SIKES. "Only \$250 million" is a rather substantial sum to a country that is as much in the hole financially as we are. Our deficit is \$25 billion a year. The taxpayers will think a reduction of \$250 million is a help. Whether you think so or not, the taxpayer will appreciate such a saving.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The taxpayer will be naive if he looks at the total debt of this Government and thinks \$250 million will do much to resolve the financial problems we face. It is easy to demagog on that issue. I think what we need to do is to say: "Is this in our interest?"

Mr. SIKES. I think there is demagoguery on both sides at this point.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I would not argue that point.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Sikes, I just wanted to ask about one statement you made. You said that the 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ -percent limitation is not being observed.

Mr. SIKES. We are paying more than that.

Mr. FRASER. Do we pay more on the assessed contribution?

Mr. SIKES. I assume this refers to all of our contributions. It is true that we are paying more than 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent. That is the limit if I understand the treaty.

Mr. FRASER. My understanding was that this applied to those activities for which the General Assembly makes an assessment. I think in that case—if I understand correctly—that we pay less than that amount.

Mr. SIKES. Well, whatever it is, Mr. Chairman, I am saying this is a limitation on expenditures. We are paying more than that. My point is that we should pay less. I am assuming we won't pay less under the present formula so I ask for a change in the law.

Mr. FRASER. Let me also call attention to the difference in the language of that limitation. It says that no U.S. representatives shall make a commitment requiring an appropriation in excess of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ . The bill that you are sponsoring says that the United States shall not pay, in effect, in excess of what a population apportionment would provide.

Mr. SIKES. That is correct.

Mr. FRASER. I take it there may be some difference under the treaty to which we are signatory. The treaty provides that the expense of the organization shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly. I take it if the General Assembly makes an apportionment, we are bound by treaty to pay.

Mr. SIKES. I feel that the Congress has the authority to make the necessary changes and not pay more than our pro rata share.

Mr. FRASER. Would you accept my view, though, that enactment of this law would be a withdrawal or a modification of that treaty obligation?

Mr. SIKES. Not necessarily. I think the fact that we have a law on the statute books limiting our payment indicates that we can pass other laws limiting our payments.

Mr. FRASER. I am making the point that the other law says that our representative shall not make a commitment. But that does not seem



to be an effort to actually change the treaty language. In other words, even if our representative did not make a commitment, the General Assembly might still make an apportionment of expenses, let us say, to put our costs higher than they are today, at 35 percent. I assume we would be bound under the treaty.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I do not think we can be required to pay a disproportionate sum. I feel that the Congress in its wisdom can work its will on this problem and that is what I am proposing.

Mr. FRASER. In any event, I think your point is that the measure of contributions, however arrived at, should be based on a population apportionment.

Mr. SIKES. That is correct.

Mr. FRASER. Would you regard the Cyprus peacekeeping effort as a useful U.N. effort?

Mr. SIKES. Yes, I think it has been a useful effort. There have been other useful actions. I don't decry all that the United Nations has done.

Mr. FRASER. I was thinking of what value to the United States is the U.N.

Mr. SIKES. The things of value have, I fear, been few and far between. I don't think that the total cost to us has been justified by the good that has come out of the U.N. I think we are paying too much. I don't think we can afford it.

Mr. FRASER. Had the U.N. not been able to send in forces to maintain peace in Cyprus, I think there is a very high probability that Greece and Turkey would have gone to war with each other. I don't know what kind of value you would attach to it. We don't know, but clearly the risk would have been higher. I wonder how one can put a dollar measure on that sort of thing.

Mr. SIKES. I think that the world powers, had they attempted to be as persuasive as they have been in more recent activities, for instance, with Israel and the Arab countries, that it might not have been necessary to send peacekeeping forces to Cyprus. We don't know whether war would have broken out or not, without peacekeeping forces.

I agree it was worth the effort in order to avoid the risk.

And there will be other instances where these things should be done, but they can be done with every nation bearing its fair share of the costs. What we have been doing is contributing much more than our share to activities of this sort when other nations refuse to pay. I don't think that is fair or necessary.

They take it for granted that the United States is going to pay, and we pay. If they know we are not going to do so, I think other nations would pay their fair part of the burden.

Mr. FRASER. Is it fair to ask if you would accept the idea that Florida should pay its proportion of the Federal budget according to population and abandon the income tax?

Mr. SIKES. We are paying a bigger part of the Nation's taxes than the average State. We are not asking that the system be discontinued. In this case, we think we get our money's worth.

Mr. FRASER. In our system, we operate on the concept of ability to pay as embodied in the Federal income tax. Would you favor abandoning that and favor the per capita extraction? I am trying to see how far you would carry the principle.

Mr. SIKES. This is a question involving the United Nations not the States. I think our Nation is paying too much to the United Nations.

Mr. FRASER. Let me ask about some other things as to what value you place on them. One of the more dramatic successes in the international sphere has come through the eradication of smallpox through the efforts of the WHO worldwide effort. It has been estimated that if the United States abandoned vaccinations it would save in excess of \$100 million a year just from not having to vaccinate every schoolchild.

It might well have been that the World Health Organization could not have undertaken this if the contributions had been limited to the kind of assessment you are speaking of. They could not have generated enough resources.

Mr. SIKES. Smallpox has not been a threat to the United States for a very long time. Smallpox vaccine has been available throughout most of the world for a long time, to anybody who wanted it, in nations whose governments would make the effort to make it available to their people.

Of course it is a very fine thing, and I don't decry the point that the U.N. has contributed in helping to spread the work of control of smallpox. What I am saying is that I don't think that the World Health Organization is necessarily responsible for the fact that smallpox has been substantially brought under control. I do think it is a good thing.

I have said in my statement that I am impressed by the child and health programs. This is one of the things that I consider important. I think this type of support is more important than for us to be the biggest contributor to the General Assembly and its semantics.

I would rather see us pay money to useful U.N. world agencies such as health and child programs. I know that refugee problems are very serious. Nevertheless, we are not solving refugee problems by continuing to contribute money. The problems go on and on.

I think one of these days we are going to have to face up to finding methods of solving the refugee problem other than with contributions to continue the present very sad state of the refugees.

But there are things being done by the U.N. that I recognize as good. I would rather contribute to those than to continue to pay disproportionately as we are paying to the U.N. Assembly and its activities.

Mr. FRASER. As I understand it, the only mandatory assessments that we are bound by treaty to pay, are running about \$56 million a year. The balance of our contributions we make on a voluntary basis each year in the foreign assistance legislation. So we are free to change that.

For example, this year if we decide we do not want to make a voluntary contribution to the World Health Organization or the Children's Fund or the refugee programs in the Middle East, we could do so; we could cut back. On our mandatory assessment I think we are down to 31½ percent. That is the central financing for the U.N. and its administrative operations and so on.

You would favor more support for these other activities, I gather—the Children's Fund and the World Health Organization.

Mr. SIKES. Yes, I would.

Mr. BINGHAM. I certainly read H.R. 11386 differently. It says: "The aggregate amount of assessed and voluntary contributions by the



United States to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies \* \* \* shall not exceed," and so forth.

I understand Mr. Sikes to be proposing that total contribution, both assessed and voluntary, "shall not exceed"—

Mr. SIKES. I think this is a good starting point. I know about as well as you do, Mr. Bingham, that this bill is not going to be reported by this committee. But I think we need a starting point.

There is room for adjustment to get a better basis for payments than we now have. Congress must accept the responsibility or we will never accomplish a change.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. If the chairman will yield?

That does not get around Mr. Bingham's point that your own proposal would prohibit—

Mr. SIKES. I stand on my proposal as being realistic.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. You just suggested that there should not be an automatic limitation on voluntary contributions because Congress on an annual basis could and does review what it wants to give for refugee relief. Your proposal would oblige a mandatory ceiling on such contributions.

Mr. SIKES. I introduced the bill and I support the bill. There is a need for change. The United States is paying too much to the U.N. Only Congress can change this.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Do you understand the significance of your proposal?

Mr. SIKES. I support the bill I introduced. It is a fair and realistic proposal.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Do you understand that it would provide a ceiling on voluntary contributions?

Mr. SIKES. Yes.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I did not understand that from your answer to Mr. Fraser's question.

Mr. SIKES. I support the bill I introduced. I was discussing the situation as I see it to exist. I am trying to be realistic about what may come out of this committee and about what is happening in the world.

I said there are United Nations' agencies which are doing more good than the U.N. General Assembly, and I would rather see our money go there if there are to be payments beyond a pro rata share. I am not convinced that either is necessary.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Sikes. I think this exchange has helped identify some of the issues that we are faced with.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, could I not ask some questions?

Mr. FRASER. I am sorry. I inadvertently failed to call on you.

Mr. BINGHAM. I am glad to welcome the dean of the Florida delegation before this subcommittee. It is a rather unexpected honor.

Mr. Sikes, do I understand from your testimony and from your statement that you believe your proposal would be an equitable proposal; that is, this would be in the interest of fairness to make this a population measure for contributions?

Mr. SIKES. Yes; I think that is a fair way to determine how much we should pay.

Mr. BINGHAM. You don't think ability to pay should come into the picture?

Mr. SIKES. I do not feel we have the ability to pay what we are now paying. That is part of my statement. I think that we do not have the ability to continue to pay at the level at which we have been paying. We don't have the money. We are borrowing the money. We are broke. We are going deeper in debt every year. Our dollar is in trouble at home and abroad. The balance of payments presents a worse picture than it ever has. We don't have the money.

Mr. BINGHAM. Do you have an estimate of what the ratio of our gross national product is to the gross national product of the world?

Mr. SIKES. I am looking at our debt, our taxes—

Mr. BINGHAM. Could you answer the question, please?

Mr. SIKES. No, I don't.

Mr. BINGHAM. It is of the order of one-half, isn't it?

Mr. SIKES. I don't know. I don't think it is a measure of ability to pay.

Mr. BINGHAM. If it is of the order of one-half, do you think it is a fair proposition that we should be limited to 8 percent or thereabouts in contributions?

Mr. SIKES. If we were a wealthy Nation with plenty of money, with our budget in the black, without a staggering debt, with a sound dollar that isn't dropping in value compared to other currencies, with a favorable balance of trade, this would indicate that we are a rich Nation which could afford to pay more than our share to world organizations, then the story would be entirely different from the present. That is not the case.

Our financial situation and our ability to pay is not reflected in gross national product. We don't have the money. We are broke.

Mr. BINGHAM. If I recall correctly, Mr. Sikes, you voted against, I believe, spoke against an amendment I proposed on the floor 2 days ago to eliminate \$800 million from our proposed budget for the purpose of 48 controversial fighter planes, the F-14. Is that correct?

Mr. SIKES. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. BINGHAM. Do you think we can afford that but we can't afford what we are paying to the U.N?

Mr. SIKES. I don't think we have any choice but to try to maintain defenses adequate for our own security. We don't have a really first-line fighter plane in our inventory that is less than 15 years old. The Russians have developed a number of advanced aircraft since we brought one out.

They have these modern aircraft flying around Israel. Their Fox Bat is much more modern than anything we have. It is the most advanced plane in the world. I know that the F-14 will not do some of the things that the Fox Bat will do, but it will do much more than the F-4 will do. Its weaponry will make it equal to the Fox Bat in performance.

So I think that we have to look to the security of this country. If you are going in debt for anything, you should go in debt to stay strong enough to stay alive.



I don't think we live in a kind of world where we can neglect our defenses. I voted for the F-14. I was happy to vote yesterday for the defense of the country.

I don't know how the distinguished gentleman voted, and that is his business, but I voted for the defense of our country. I think it is essential if we are to survive. I don't like the cost, either. It is frightening. I don't think we have a choice. I do think we have a choice on whether to continue to pay more than our share to the U.N. That doesn't have to do with the survival of the United States.

Mr. BINGHAM. Does it not come to the question of what the gentleman thinks is important and vital, and not the question of what we can afford?

Mr. SIKES. I don't accept that at all.

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you.

Mr. GROSS. Nowhere in Mr. Sikes' statement did I see any reference to the gross national product. I thought he was dealing with net national income. With all the fictions built into the gross national product, I am sure the gentleman would not use that as any measure of economic well-being. What I really wanted to suggest was that the gentleman from Florida is trying to do the city of New York a favor. The people there have been protesting the mayor's pledge of \$25 million to construct more buildings for this polyglot outfit in their city.

What the gentleman is trying to do, as are some of the rest of us, is to save them from embarrassment in New York City.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to clear up one point, since the F-14 and the cost of that has been put on the record.

Am I correct, Mr. Sikes, that it would cost more to cancel out the contract for the F-14 than it would be to go ahead with the procurement; that there was \$800 million in the bill for procurement of the F-14, but to cancel the contract would cost the U.S. Government \$1.1 billion? And that is without regard to the merits or demerits of the aircraft, or the national security of the United States. It is sheer economics.

Mr. SIKES. That is correct. But an even more overriding consideration is the need for an advanced aircraft. We must get one as soon as we can if we are to avoid showdowns where we would have to back down.

Mr. FASCELL. We can't wait for the ultimate weapon if we need one. I agree with you, it is too bad we need weapons, but we have to have them.

You of course are aware of the fact that the U.S. Government has been maintaining a consistent effort in the U.N. on the reduction of its share of the assessment; that is, the regular assessment. It has been a long and difficult struggle.

I don't know what the exact rate is now, I think our chairman said it is 31.5.

Mr. FRASER. Based on information I have been furnished, for 1972 it is 31.5.

Mr. FASCELL. The reduction obtained is testament to the sheer skill and diplomacy of the U.S. representatives in the U.N. But it has taken many years. And of course the U.N. financial problem still persists.

So there is something to be said for a realistic appraisal of the financial situation at the U.N., Mr. Sikes. Maybe this gives us an opportunity to meet it squarely in the eye.

Mr. SIKES. We are trying to help.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Sikes. We have had a very good discussion.

Mr. SIKES. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Crane has returned, but has graciously consented to let Ambassador Goldberg go ahead.

Will you come up, Mr. Ambassador?

Mr. Ambassador, we want to welcome you back before this subcommittee. You are so well known for your record of public service that we won't try to reiterate your impressive biography, but we are delighted to have you here.

Why don't you proceed in whatever manner you like. You can either go with your prepared statement or submit it for the record, whatever you like.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, FORMER PERMANENT U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Mr. GOLDBERG. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, and thank you for not outlining my biography. After having heard it a thousand times at various meetings, one is inclined to be bored with himself.

I shall read briefly from the statement and then be glad to answer questions.

Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to appear before this distinguished subcommittee to discuss the U.S. participation in the United Nations.

Today I appear before you not in my official capacity but as a concerned citizen of our country. I want to talk particularly about our financial support of the U.N. and what does constitute our fair share. This indeed is a very legitimate question, but it is obvious that one cannot speak of finances in isolation.

The essential question, which I believe is reflected by the questions which have been asked pro and con on this resolution is to measure our national interest in an effective United Nations.

I served 3 years as American Ambassador. This gave me an ample opportunity to observe its accomplishments and its shortcomings. More than once I took strong exception to the ill-considered resolutions of the General Assembly.

Perhaps it is not well known to Congress, but on one occasion I got up in the General Assembly and I told the General Assembly that the resolution they had adopted was unconstitutional and the United States would not comply with it.

Mr. GROSS. Let me interrupt you just with this observation, that I don't believe I said anything about the "effective United Nations."

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; you expressed yourself that it is not in the national interest of the United States to be in the United Nations. I think whether it is or not in the national interest is really the issue.



The chairman's question, I think, reflected the question of how can we have an effective United Nations and what is required to have it? That is what I was referring to.

I felt even more frustrated at times when the U.N. was unable to deal with world problems of vital importance affecting peace and security, such as the war in Vietnam.

But the real question is not whether the U.N. is always right or whether it can deal with all threats to peace and security that face the world. The real question is whether the world would be a safer place with or without the United Nations. And we are part of the world.

Being painfully aware of the weaknesses of the U.N., I am nevertheless convinced that the world would be a much more dangerous place if it did not exist. I can also affirm, on the basis of my own experience, that in the absence of the United Nations our national interest—this is the ultimate test of the foreign policy of every country—would have suffered great damage in a number of important areas of concern to the United States and the world.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you adverted to one instance which I would also like to use as an example, and that is the Cyprus situation.

In the fall of 1967, there was an imminent threat of war between Turkey and Greece because of the dangerous situation on the island of Cyprus. Indeed, the threat of war was so imminent that landing craft were already loaded with Turkish troops and they were prepared to proceed to Cyprus. Had they done so, there would have been a reaction from Greece and we would have been confronted with a war.

Now, war between these two NATO allies would have completely unhinged the NATO alliance on its crucial eastern flank, and the cost to the United States would have been enormous—in terms of the security of our country and of our allies.

How was this war averted? It was averted mainly because there was a United Nations force on the island and U.N. support of American diplomatic efforts to avert what appeared at the time to be virtually a certainty of armed conflict.

Ambassador Vance, the President's special and very distinguished emissary to the area, would be the first to acknowledge that his efforts would have been unavailing were it not for the backstopping of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, supported by the State Department, and the cooperation of the Secretary General of the U.N. U Thant, and his principal deputy, Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Of overriding importance, however, as a factor in "cooling" the situation was the presence of the U.N. peacekeeping force.

I will say to this distinguished subcommittee and to the committee and to the press that the U.S. efforts alone would not have succeeded. We needed the U.N. umbrella in order to get agreement that the war should be averted. Indeed, U.N. participation became the essential condition on the basis of which we were able to arrive at a formula to avert the war.

I recall Ambassador Vance cabling me from Nicosia, saying that unless there was a U.N. declaration indicating that the U.N. was prepared to consider certain aspects of the situation, his efforts would collapse.

It thereupon called the Secretary General and Dr. Bunche. We got together and worked out the formula which turned out to be the only

formula acceptable to Greece, to Turkey, and to Archbishop Nakarios, and in that way we were able to avert what would have been a catastrophic war in terms of human lives and in terms of the strategic interests of the United States.

In my prepared statement which I wrote on an airplane, I said that we currently pay about \$6 million a year toward maintaining the force on Cyprus. I have since had an opportunity to check the record, and I find that the present figure is \$4.8 million.

Now, I agree this is a substantial sum of money, although as Congressman Frelinghuysen points out, in terms of the total budget of the United States it is a small amount of money. But millions are millions. It is a mere drop in the bucket compared, as I have said, to what it would have cost the United States in political security and ultimately in financial terms if the war had broken out between Greece and Turkey.

Now, by the way, our contribution to the Cyprus force is voluntary. It is quite correct as both Congressman Bingham and Congressman Frelinghuysen have pointed out that Mr. Sikes' bill would prevent such a contribution because it would limit the amount not only of assessed but also of voluntary contributions. His bill so says.

Now I think we have to put this in perspective. There are several other countries contributing more than the United States, proportionately to their population, in Mr. Sikes' terms. Nine governments other than the United States provide the bulk of military and police contingents for the force on Cyprus, and they have absorbed a substantial share of the cost of these contingents.

These troop contributing countries also face political problems. I will only cite one country, for example, Canada is such a country, and its leaders have to face their Parliament in Ottawa. They have to justify why a much smaller country is absorbing such a proportion of costs for this operation. They do so in the interest of world peace and stability.

We do so also for that reason, but also, as I have indicated, in the interest of our own security and that of our allies.

Another case in point is the Middle East, very much in our mind as it has been throughout the last several years, indeed perhaps for the last more than 20 years. It will interest this committee to know, and again I am not revealing any great Government secret, in May 1967—I want to emphasize that date, May 1967—I received instructions from the State Department, not because they wanted particularly to do this but because they were conscious of the feeling that we ought to be economical in this area, to work toward a reduction of the U.S. share in supporting the U.N. force which was then present between Egypt and Israel, United Arab Republic and Israel, in the Sinai.

I demurred, in all candor, and in fact refused to follow this directive.

Two weeks passed, the force was removed at President Nasser's insistence, and the 6-day war broke out.

I have no hesitation in saying that if the parties today would agree to a peace treaty involving a new United Nations peacekeeping force, the United States, and I am sure the Congress, would gladly pay scores of times the amount that were being expended as our contribu-



tion in 1967, and it would be a bargain at that, to bring about peace in the area.

A third example, again derived from my own experience, is one that cannot be evaluated in money or in financial terms. Indeed, this is the first time I have ever mentioned this example, although it is now a part of history.

It was at the United Nations that I was advised by an Ambassador from an Eastern European country that the North Koreans were willing to negotiate the release of the prisoner crew of the *Pueblo*. The negotiations then ensued after I communicated that information to our Government. They were difficult negotiations, they lasted a very long time, but the ultimate result was that the courageous men, the crew of the *Pueblo*, were released and repatriated to our own country.

It was also at the United Nations that I was also advised by this Ambassador that one of the men had died in the capture—I thought then, and I still think it was—a very illegal capture of a ship on the high seas, and I believe some others were wounded. And I was able to communicate this information to the families concerned. We had no other information. We got it there at the United Nations.

Now, in the trauma of the prisoner-of-war situation in Vietnam, whatever anybody's views are about the war, there is one view about the sad plight of the prisoners of war and their families. I don't believe one can measure in economic and financial terms the value of the information that I received at the U.N. about the *Pueblo* prisoners which enabled us to advise their families of their fate. We were not able to get this information through any other source.

My experience was reminiscent of Ambassador Jessup's being advised at the U.N. of the willingness of our adversaries to enter into negotiations about the Berlin airlift. That information was also conveyed to us at the United Nations.

Now, I could multiply examples. The cease-fire in the 1965 war between India and Pakistan that was not concluded at Tashkent, it was arranged at the United Nations, largely as a result of an initiative taken by the United States.

Now, our national interest was very much involved in that cease-fire. Shortly before then, there had been movements of Chinese troops. These movements were reported, and it was very much in our interest to bring this war to a halt.

Even with respect to the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab States—of course we do not have peace in the area, and that is very regrettable—the cease-fire there was arrived at at the U.N.

I should like to point out a simple fact of history. It is very difficult to bring about a cease-fire in a war where one party has superiority over another party. That is a very difficult thing to do.

Had the 6-day war in the Middle East continued longer, it would have increased the danger of involvement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

All wars come to an end sometime. I suppose the India-Pakistan war of 1965 and the Israeli-Arab war of 1967 would have come to an end by force of arms sometime, but we cannot measure the period of time that would have elapsed before these wars ground to a halt.

All of us who can remember World War II will remember that it was quite apparent to even the German high command that Germany

had lost the war a long time before Hitler committed suicide in his bunker in Berlin.

Now, these are just plain specific examples of the value to the United States of this institution, a value which is a great value.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Ambassador, we have run into a quorum call. In an informal consultation here, the subcommittee has come to the conclusion that when we leave to respond to the quorum call, it may not be feasible to continue the hearing this morning because a continuing resolution will be on the floor immediately afterwards. We are fearful that members will feel they have to stay on the floor. So we will have to discontinue the balance of the hearing for today.

Therefore if you agree, perhaps we could put your formal written statement in the record, and you could wind up in a minute or two, or we could proceed with questions now, whichever you like.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I will be glad to put the formal statement in, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to add one other word which I also don't think is understood, and then I will be glad to respond to questions, and that is this: It is sometimes forgotten that Members of Congress participate in the work of the U.N. That is not, as I can testify from my own experience, a pro forma participation.

Members of Congress, of both Houses, play a very active part in the work of the U.N., and a very constructive one. They are very conscious of the taxpayers' dollars involved. I can testify to that.

They do a very effective job, as the record illustrates, in attempting to bring the U.S. contribution down. Indeed, a resolution of the General Assembly saying that the U.S. contribution must be cut to 30 percent, and that is now going on, is largely the product of the work of Members of this House who, as members of the U.S. delegation when I was Ambassador, were the proponents of the idea that the U.N. must put its house in order.

Finally, I will say this: There is a misunderstanding about resolutions at the U.N. and the General Assembly. It is compounded by the China situation, which I discuss in my prepared statement. I welcomed the admission of Red China, but I think that Taiwan should not have been expelled.

But this situation is rather sui generis. Basically, resolutions of the General Assembly are recommendations; they are not decisions. We are on the Security Council and we can veto actions taken in support of a General Assembly resolution which we disapprove.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

Without objection, we will put your statement in the record.  
(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, FORMER PERMANENT U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND HONORARY COCHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to appear before this distinguished Committee to discuss the United States' participation in the United Nations.

I want to talk particularly about our financial support of the UN and what constitutes our fair share. But it is obvious that one cannot speak of finances in isolation. The essential question is to measure our national interest in an effective United Nations.



As you know, I served as U.S. Representative to the UN for almost three years. This gave me ample opportunity to observe its accomplishments and shortcomings. More than once I took strong exception to ill-considered resolutions of the General Assembly. I felt even more frustrated at times when the UN was unable to deal with world problems of vital importance affecting peace and security, such as the war in Vietnam.

But the real question is not whether the UN is always right or whether it can deal with all threats to peace and security that face the world. The real question is whether the world would be a safer place with or without the United Nations. Being painfully aware of the weaknesses of the UN, I am nevertheless convinced that the world would be a much more dangerous place if it did not exist. I can also affirm, on the basis of my own experience that in the absence of the United Nations our national interest would have suffered great damage in a number of important areas of the world.

Let me illustrate with just a few examples from my own experience. In the fall of 1967 there was an imminent threat of war between Turkey and Greece because of the dangerous situation on the island of Cyprus. War between these two NATO allies would have completely unhinged the alliance on its crucial eastern flank. The cost to the U.S. would have been enormous—in terms of the security of our country and of our allies. War between Greece and Turkey was averted mainly because there was a United Nations force on the island and UN support of American diplomatic efforts to avert what appeared at the time to be the certainty of armed conflict. Ambassador Vance, the President's special emissary to the area, would be the first to acknowledge that his efforts would have been unavailing were it not for the backstopping of the United States' Mission to the United Nations and the cooperation of the Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, and his principal deputy, Dr. Ralph Bunche. Of overriding importance, however, as a factor in "cooling" the situation was the presence of the UN peacekeeping force.

Currently we pay about \$4.8 million a year toward maintaining the force on Cyprus. This, although a substantial sum of money, is but a mere drop in the bucket compared to what it would have cost the United States in political, and ultimately financial, terms if war had broken out between Greece and Turkey. I know it is aggravating that some countries do not contribute to the peacekeeping force on Cyprus. It should be noted, however, that some other countries contribute much more proportionately than the United States. Nine of the governments which provide the bulk of military and police contingents for the force on Cyprus have themselves absorbed a substantial share of the cost of those contingents. But that is not important. The important thing is that the national interest of the United States is served, and served well, by our support of the UN operation on Cyprus and its observer operation on the island.

Another case in point is the Middle East. In May, 1967, I received instructions from the State Department to work toward a reduction of the United States' share in supporting the UNEF force between Egypt and Israel. I demurred and, in fact, refused to follow this directive. Two weeks passed, the force was removed at President Nasser's insistence and the Six Day War broke out. I have no hesitation in saying that, if the parties today would agree to a peace treaty involving a new United Nations peacekeeping force, the United States would gladly pay scores of times the amount that would have been involved in 1967—and it would be a bargain at that.

A third example is one that cannot be evaluated in money or financial terms. It was at the United Nations that I was advised by an Ambassador from an Eastern European country that the North Koreans were willing to negotiate the release of the prisoner crew of the *Pueblo*. My experience was reminiscent of Ambassador Jessup's being advised at the UN of the willingness to enter negotiations about the Berlin blockade.

I could multiply examples. The cease-fires in the 1965 war between India and Pakistan and in the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab States come immediately to mind. True, both of those wars probably would have come to an end ultimately by force of arms, but not as soon, and the importance of the saving of life and the lessening of big power involvement which resulted from UN intervention is not lessened by our inability to evaluate them in financial terms.

On the economic side too, the United Nations has served the U.S. interest extremely well. The Committee has heard testimony on this subject by many knowledgeable spokesmen. I need not, therefore, go into detail. Let me simply

say that multilateral aid programs have, among other things, the following advantages:

- (1) For every American dollar that goes into the United Nations Development Program, for example, there are at least two dollars from other donor countries and roughly the same amount from recipient countries;
- (2) Developing countries sometimes are willing to accept controls by a multilateral agency that they might seem to resent in a bilateral situation;
- (3) Because it can draw expertise from all over the world, the UNDP can, on occasion, do a better job of providing the right persons for a particular situation.

Nor is it just a matter of assisting the developing countries with their economic growth in the most effective way. The UN is dealing with a number of problem areas which are of key interest to the United States and in which we have often provided the initiative. Such areas are, for example, population, narcotics control, the environment, air piracy, outer space, the safe return of astronauts, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and the sea beds. International cooperation on these problems is vital to us and the UN has provided either the instruments for it or mobilized world opinion in support.

I would oppose any suggestion that we should support the UN, or pay more than our just share toward its support, out of charity. I am convinced that we should support it, and should pay our *fair* share, because of hard-headed national self-interest.

What is our fair share? Since the United Nations was established, it has followed the principle that capacity to pay should be a basic criterion for assessment. The scale of assessments for all countries is recommended by a group of 12 experts, including one American, after painstaking examination of all factors. Its recommendations have invariably been accepted by the General Assembly.

Is the United States assessed more than its relative capacity to pay? Quite the contrary. Our national income is roughly 38 percent of the income of all members of the UN combined. Our present assessment is 31.52 percent. This is because the General Assembly, at the urging of the United States, has adopted the principle that the share of the largest contributor should be reduced to 30 percent.

There are those who advocate a ceiling for the United States of 25 percent. If we were to reduce our share to 25 percent, and other countries did not pick up the slack on the ground that many of them already pay more in proportion to the national incomes than the United States does—and many do—it would plunge the United Nations, already in grave trouble financially, into virtual bankruptcy. This would do irreparable harm to the national interest of the United States in an effective UN and a stable world.

Under certain circumstances, I can see the possibility of a further decline in the U.S. assessment below the accepted 30 percent ceiling. If the UN is made truly universal by bringing in both West and East Germany, South and North Korea, and North and South Vietnam, there will be additional contributions out of which the United States could legitimately claim its fair share. West and East Germany alone, on the basis of national income, would pay about 9 percent of the budget and we could legitimately claim about a third of that to bring down the United States contribution. Such a possibility was pointed out by the President's Commission on the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations under the chairmanship of Ambassador Lodge. I would energetically support that idea. But I am just as energetically opposed to any steps which might endanger our national interest by undermining the financial underpinnings of the UN.

Some, in indignation against the expulsion of the Republic of China from the UN, have urged a cut in our share of contributions to it. While I have advocated, and welcome, the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the UN, I have also consistently supported the retention of Taiwan in it, both as United States Representative to the United Nations and as a private citizen.

I deplore the expulsion of Nationalist China and I believe the UN loses by its absence. I also deplore the fact that there is no representation of the other divided states, since I believe in the principle of universality of the UN. But I do not believe that because we lost our fight to prevent the expulsion of Taiwan, we should in retribution take counter action contrary to our national interest by undermining the UN as an institution which needs strengthening rather than weakening.



Senator Arthur Vandenberg said, near the end of World War II: "I do not believe that any nation hereafter can immunize itself by its own exclusive action." The basic fact of our world position in this generation is not isolation—old or neo—but, to use a favorite word of President Kennedy, "interdependence."

When we reflect upon the many defects of the UN, it is well to recall Winston Churchill's realistic appraisal that it exists, "not to get us to heaven but to keep up from going to the other place."

And we would also do well to remember that, as Adlai Stevenson pointed out, when the nations criticize the UN they are criticizing themselves. We, the sovereign member nations, are the United Nations. It has no special magic apart from what its members bring to it; and if that magic is less than it should be, truly "the fault lies not in our stars but in ourselves"—in all the members.

Mr. FRASER. I want to apologize, Mr. Ambassador. The House is starting an hour earlier than usual today.

Mr. FASCELL?

Mr. FASCELL. I don't have any questions, Mr. Chairman.

I am delighted to have the opportunity to have the Ambassador present on the record the worthiness of the U.N. in the interest of the United States, based on his personal experience and observation. That is the best kind of evidence, of course.

I have never had any doubt about it. I think we all recognize the pressures that the United States is under in the United Nations, as a practical matter. We are aware of the long struggle the United States has had to get the U.N. to abide by its own resolution of reducing the U.S. regular assessment to 30 percent. That, coupled with an unrealistic posture of the member states to face up to the financial crisis, requires us, both in the Congress and in the executive, to be absolutely candid and realistic in the current situation confronting the United Nations as we look to the next 25 years.

I think that these hearings and what will follow are extremely vital and important, notwithstanding the predicate on which they were started.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I agree with that. And I agree particularly with the comment that we have to place it in perspective.

I checked the figures, if I may say so, Mr. Chairman, to see what we were contributing. I have met a payroll and I am meeting one now, and I found that the total amount the United States is contributing—voluntary and the assessment—to the whole U.N. family annually is \$321 million. If I am off, Secretary DePalma can provide a more accurate figure.

It is of interest that the New York Times reported that the one Amchitka bomb test cost us \$200 million. I think these figures pretty well speak for themselves when we want to put in perspective what it is that we are talking about.

Again, I do not enter into the merits of the test. It is a question of priorities, as Congressman Frelinghuysen has very well said. Congress has the power of the purse, and it ought to stay here, by the way.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Ambassador, as soon as we figure out how to exercise it, we will do something about it.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Frelinghuysen?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to compliment Ambassador Goldberg for his testimony. It has been helpful to us. As he spoke, I was reminded of the fact that I served under Ambassador Goldberg in 1965. It was an educa-

tion for me to participate in the practical operations at the General Assembly.

I wish we had more time to discuss this. What is basically being suggested here is that a fair share concept needs to be developed. It has been suggested that population formula would constitute a fair share. As Mr. Sikes pointed out, that would result in a reduction of the U.S. contribution from roughly 30 percent to 6 percent of the total budget.

I can imagine no more effective way of unilaterally wrecking the United Nations. You point out what it would mean if there should be a reduction to 25 percent. We are talking in terms of millions, not billions.

When we vote on a \$70-odd billion defense budget and then say we can't afford to do our share, or that our assessment is an unfair burden on us, I think we are being hypocritical. If it is in our interest, it seems to me there are places where we should be willing to provide more than 30 or 36 percent. In some voluntary programs we do just that, and I think we should.

I only regret we don't have more time to discuss this, because we do have a truncated hearing. There is a subject of great interest to our committee that is coming up right after the quorum call.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I could not agree with you more; it would wreck the U.N. I was looking at another figure which I think is relevant. There is a great deal of talk about our GNP, but let us put it on another level. When you consider the per capita income—that is the income to each American—the 1967 figure—it is much higher now, but 1967 is the last available to me—United States per capita income was \$3,670 per person. The income of a small state in Africa, per capita, may be \$75.

Now, is it conceivably fair to assimilate a \$75 per capita income country, with the situation of the United States? It is not.

If there were refugees in East Pakistan, as there are, Congressmen, being humanitarian, would appropriate money in order to meet the needs of those refugees, as they have in the Middle East.

Finally, I would like before you adjourn to reinforce what Congressman Fraser has said. We are a Nation of law. We do have a treaty.

We live by law and we ought not to abrogate the U.N. Charter unilaterally.

Our obligation to the U.N. is a treaty obligation. I place a high premium on treaties that are ratified by our Constitutional processes.

Mr. BINGHAM. On that point, if I might, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Justice Goldberg to comment on how he sees the impact of the congressional decision on buying chrome from Rhodesia on our relations not only at the United Nations but throughout the world.

Mr. GOLDBERG. There, too, we have a treaty obligation, and that treaty obligation is to comply with the decisions of the Security Council; and putting every other consideration aside, the pros and cons of that controversy, the fact of the matter simply is that the United States is beginning to assume the posture of a country that does not honor its treaty commitments.



Mr. BINGHAM. I have often heard it said, Mr. Justice, "Why should we abide by those sanctions when so many other nations are violating them?"

What is your comment?

Mr. GOLDBERG. My comment on that is double. The first is, as the New York Times on this very morning indicates, that while the sanctions have not been foolproof, nevertheless they have had a substantial effect in that situation.

Second, a great part of our vote for that resolution was predicated on the view that Great Britain is the constitutional authority over Rhodesia. No country in the world—perhaps Portugal has, I may be out of date—but on the day we voted for sanctions, no country in the world had recognized Rhodesia as an independent country, no country at that time.

What we were saying, in effect, and we ought to apply it to ourselves, we were saying in effect that the constitutional responsibility of dealing with that situation was Great Britain's, and we were voting for a resolution proposed by the constitutional authority.

I can only personally express the hope that the President will draw upon other sources of chrome. We have an enormous stockpile, by the way, of chrome. We could release tomorrow enough chrome to meet our needs without importing any chrome from Russia, if that is the objection.

I also find our policy there to be very difficult to reconcile. On the one hand, we say we want to promote trade with the Eastern bloc. On the other hand, we say that the reason we vote to repudiate a treaty obligation is because it will involve trade with the Eastern bloc.

In any event, we don't have to do that. We have a tremendous amount of chrome in our stockpile. We could get American dollars from our companies if we released chrome from the stockpile. We would also diminish a very swollen stockpile.

I talk with some competence in this area. As Secretary of Labor, I sat on a committee of the Cabinet to try to take steps to reduce that stockpile. It derives from World War II. It is too big, not only in chrome but in many other areas. We ought to reduce it.

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

I want to apologize to Mr. Crane. When these hearings reconvene on another day, we will schedule your appearance first, since we are anxious to have as many members as possible hear your testimony.

Mr. DePalma, our apologies to you also. We look forward to hearing your statement next time.

The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m. the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

## TO LIMIT U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1971

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 9:40 a.m., in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Donald M. Fraser (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FRASER. The meeting of the subcommittee will come to order.

We are continuing our hearings on bills which propose to alter the basis on which the United States contributes to the United Nations. This morning we are privileged to have as a witness one of our very able and distinguished colleagues, Philip Crane. I want to apologize for having you come to our last hearing and then not being able to hear you, Mr. Crane.

Mr. CRANE. That is quite all right.

Mr. FRASER. We particularly appreciate your courtesy in letting one of the other witnesses go ahead of you at the last hearing.

Would you please proceed?

### STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP M. CRANE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. CRANE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say I was more than happy to yield to the former Ambassador to the U.N. owing to his time schedule and I am grateful for this opportunity to come back at this time.

For many years the contribution of the United States to international organizations, particularly the United Nations and its constituent agencies, has been far in excess of that of other countries. In a statement issued on December 16, 1970, Secretary of State William Rogers made this fact clear.

In that statement Secretary Rogers declared that:

U.S. contributions to international organizations and programs totaled \$307.6 million in fiscal year 1969. This figure includes assessed contributions of \$124.2 million to 54 special programs in support of economic development and humanitarian activities and \$6 million to one U.N. peacekeeping operation.

Secretary Rogers further pointed out that:

Our assessed contributions to international organizations in the fiscal year 1969 came to 32.7 percent of total assessments against all member states, while



our voluntary contributions represented 37.2 percent of the total. On an overall basis, we contributed 35.1 percent of total contributions (both assessed and voluntary) to all the organizations and programs.

There are now 131 United Nations members with a total population—excluding Communist China which was recently admitted—of 2,724 million. Our own population is 207.1 million, which is 7.6 percent of the total, an even lower percentage when compared with the new figures based upon Communist China's entrance.

The total United Nations budget is \$966,500,000 and the total U.S. contribution for 1970 was \$300,684,000. The anticipated U.S. contribution for 1971 is \$335,443,000. According to the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, this represents a contribution of 36.05 percent. By any standard, our own Government is contributing to the United Nations out of all proportion to its population.

In his annual report for 1969-70, Secretary Rogers notes that "For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the United States at the 1970 General Assembly did not vote for the U.N. budget. We abstained on the 1971 budget of \$192.1 million because of its unusually large increase of 14 percent, including an 8 percent pay increase for professionals in the Secretariat, which we considered excessive."

I agree with Secretary of State Rogers that the United Nations budget has increased in an excessive manner. More than this, our own contribution has been far out of proportion to our size, especially when considering the fact that other nations, such as the U.S.S.R. and France, have continually refused to pay for any United Nations actions with which they have disagreed.

The United Nations has, it seems, mismanaged its funds. As recently as a month ago, Secretary General U Thant told the Budget Committee of the General Assembly that the United Nations was "in a state of near and hopeless insolvency." The New York Times of October 27, 1971 said "Such gloomy forecasts are not new, and State Department officials here vouch for their accuracy. But they point out that there is a remedy, short of financial collapse—cutting back expenditures."

The Times quoted a State Department official as stating that "It's not like a business firm. It can cut back on production of documents or expensive seminars, or simply adopt other austerity measures. That would go a long way toward solving the problems."

It is just and proper that our country do everything possible to assist in creating a world at peace. It is somewhat questionable, however, as to whether or not many of the activities which are being financed by the United Nations are assisting in achieving that end. As Secretary Rogers and many others have pointed out, the United Nations has often been injudicious in its expenditure of money. It may be that this injudicious manner of spending money may be based at least partially on the willingness of our Government to make up for the failure of others to contribute or for other budgetary difficulties.

At a time when our own economy suffers from a serious inflation which is based in large measure upon the need for government to spend more money than it has, it seems appropriate to reconsider governmental expenses which might be dispensed with.

The opinions of Secretary Rogers and others with regard to the United Nations budget lead me to believe that our contribution to

that organization is an important place to begin. This would, in the long run, be of assistance to the United Nations itself for it would place our role and the role of other nations on a more equitable and fair basis.

In reviewing our own contribution to the United Nations it should also be remembered that, in many respects, that organization has failed to fulfill the promise which initially prompted our more than generous approach to its funding.

At a time when Jews suffer mounting oppression in the Soviet Union, when men and women in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the other nations of Eastern Europe are subjected to the new colonialism of the Brehznev doctrine, when religious and intellectual freedom are unknown in vast portions of the world, the United Nations remains surprisingly silent. It raises its voice only to attack those few nations it considers to be "easy" targets—nations such as Israel, Rhodesia, and Portugal. Only last month it has decided that the United States itself has become such an "easy target."

In an unprecedented and cynical action 106 countries, including Communist China, voting for the first time in the United Nations, censured the U.S. Congress for permitting strategic chrome imports from Rhodesia.

The very concept of nations such as the Soviet Union and Communist China, nations which hold their subject peoples in virtual captivity, declaring that the United States, a free and open society which has for so long shouldered the major burden of financing the United Nations, is in violation of its international commitments, would be taken simply for the double standard which seems to work so often in international politics were it not for one fact. That fact is that it is we, the United States, who are, in effect, paying the bills for an organization which, it seems, has become little more than a sounding board for the harshest kind of anti-American vituperation and propaganda.

The General Assembly of the United Nations voted to protest the recent congressional action permitting chrome purchases in Rhodesia. The Security Council had previously imposed mandatory sanctions on trade with Rhodesia. It is important to remember that sanctions were not voted against the Soviet Union, which has ruthlessly invaded Hungary and Czechoslovakia, or against Communist China, which has invaded India, committed genocide in Tibet, and been found guilty of aggression in Korea. It was Rhodesia, which invaded no one, which was chosen as another "easy target."

The United Nations is rapidly becoming a sounding board for a viewpoint which rejects its own Declaration of Human Rights and the mandates of the charter. The delegate from Communist China, for example, declared that his government regarded the resolutions of the United Nations during the Korean war as illegal and would seek to have them annulled. He reiterated the philosophy of Mao Tse-tung that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun," and instead of urging the peaceful solution to world problems called for by the charter, urged support for guerrilla war throughout the underdeveloped world.

Our original commitments to the United Nations were based on our strong hope that this international agency would be an effective force for peace in the world.



In fact, anyone who has read the preamble to the United Nations Charter would agree that the ends for which the U.N. was established are indeed noble. Yet after 25 years of existence, I seriously question if the United Nations has met those goals and if there is any conceivable chance that it will in the future.

For our Government to continue to fulfill the financial role of the past, in light of our own economic problems and the fact that the United Nations is not using the funds provided for the purposes set forth in the charter, would clearly be for us to act against our own self-interest and against the interests of world peace.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Crane.

Mr. GROSS?

Mr. GROSS. I appreciate that our colleague is here this morning to speak on this subject. Apparently, Mr. Crane, you are not impressed with the complaint that this bill to reduce the contribution to the United Nations would constitute a violation of our treaty commitment to the U.N.?

Mr. CRANE. Well, sir, in my judgment, after the action taken by the United Nations in violation of its own charter in admitting Communist China and expelling Nationalist China from that body, I would only remind the gentleman that the charter of the United Nations specifically states that the Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council and there is no way of confusing the Republic of China with the People's Republic of China. The charter further prescribes the conditions for expulsion of any member; namely, a recommendation from the Security Council to the General Assembly which automatically requires that two-thirds vote for expulsion and that the conditions for expulsion involve persistent violations of the principles of the U.N. Charter. When the U.N. took the action it did in totally repudiating its own charter, in my judgment, all bets were off, and any obligations we had terminated at that point. As a result, I think we have every right in the world to act as independently as the other members of that body did when they took that action.

Beyond that I would also remind the distinguished gentleman from Iowa that, if one wants to censure such action, we have a very fine precedent in the action taken by the U.S. Congress when it passed the measure recently that permitted trade with Rhodesia in chrome for our vital defense purposes.

I think that that was an altogether proper action and I supported a majority of my colleagues in the House and a majority in the Senate who passed that particular measure.

Mr. GROSS. Apparently the gentleman is not impressed by the constant wails of some people that our support should be predicated upon the alleged "capacity to pay"; is that correct?

Mr. CRANE. That is on the one hand an enticing argument to many in this day and age. At the same time I would only say in response to that question that, first of all, in calculating GNP, we have some rather precise ways of doing it in a free and open society but how do you measure, for example, that portion, or that cost of services in a totalitarian state where people are working at gun point? That certainly is not calculated into their GNP, so I would have taken issue with the formula in the first instance but I think that is really beside the point today.

The truth of the matter is we do not have the capacity to pay. We have a total national indebtedness greater than the national indebtedness of every other nation in the world combined.

Last year we ran a \$30 billion deficit and there is talk that in this next fiscal year our deficit may exceed \$40 billion.

We have international economic problems that we are all abundantly aware of and, under these circumstances, it is plain to me that the United States simply does not have the capacity to pay.

In rearranging our priorities, I can think of many other priorities that, in my judgment, must take precedence over a continued funding level at the present rate of the U.N.

Mr. GROSS. As far as I am concerned, and I hope the gentleman will agree with me, the gross national product, as a yardstick for measuring our economic well-being, is about as fallacious as any measurement could be.

Mr. CRANE. I would agree with the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his response and for his statement as a whole.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Crane, I assume that you would have the United States stay in the United Nations?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. FRASER. So what you are arguing in effect, then, is that the current level of investment, if you look at it that way, of the United States resources in the U.N. as in excess of the value of the organization, or is in excess of what reasonable contribution ought to be and therefore should be revoked.

Mr. CRANE. In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, that is exactly the case.

The formula that I have proposed is one based on population rather than capacity to pay or GNP formulation. I know that there are those who say, "Well, if we were to change our formula for contributing to the financial support in this manner, and to urge this upon some of the poorer nations, particularly a country like Red China, that Red China's contribution would be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$250 million annually, whereas ours would be cut back to approximately \$63 or \$64 million."

To be sure on the per capita formulation that is what the figures would be. Some say, "Well, how could a poor country such as Red China afford to pay \$250 million a year for the support of the United Nations?" I would only respond to that by saying that Red China has over the past 6 years put more annually into the support of North Vietnam's war effort than \$250 million.

Now that Red China has joined an organization committed to peace and freedom worldwide and presumably has subscribed to those principles, I am sure she would like to divert her investment for war to an investment for peace and she can very handily pick up some of the slack that would result in a cutback in our funding.

Mr. FRASER. One of the most populous countries in the world is India with a population, if I recall, on the order of 600 million, second only to China's 800 million. What would your view be with respect to their capacity to pay?

Mr. CRANE. First of all, I think they might develop some of the financial wherewithal by getting out of Pakistan, and that this would contribute enormously to their capacity to pay. I suspect that India



probably has a more highly developed economy—not withstanding her problems—than does Red China.

I would argue in this respect that the value of service rendered by the United Nations to any individual country would have to be a paramount consideration when you got to consideration of your ability to meet a per capita formulation for financial support. In this respect it may be that both India and Red China, for that matter, might make the determination that membership in the U.N. is not worth \$250 million a year to Red China, or something less than that to India, I think that is the situation we are in.

The United Nations provides a very vital service to a country such as Maldiva which cannot afford to maintain embassies throughout the world and she has, through her membership here, an opportunity to maintain contact with 131 nations of the world with probably no greater cost than maintaining an embassy in the United States, or in London, or some other major capital of the world.

In addition to that, it provides other services—the opportunity for discussion, the opportunity to negotiate such things as boundary disputes, fishing rights, et cetera.

I think that each country has to consider in its own mind whether this limited function which the U.N. can effectively perform is worth the investment that they pay to maintain it.

To the Communist bloc, I think very clearly the United Nations provides another very vital service and that is a convenient platform for engaging in anti-American propaganda. To this extent they might find it still worthwhile to maintain that higher level of contribution and financial support than they do now.

I think one would only have to ask them under this kind of formulation whether they view it as that desirable an instrument for accomplishing those ends.

Mr. FRASER. Would you extend, as I think the bill does, this limitation to voluntary contributions as well as assessed contributions?

Mr. CRANE. Yes.

Mr. FRASER. To the Children's Fund?

Mr. CRANE. Yes.

Mr. FRASER. And to the refugee program in the Middle East?

Mr. CRANE. Yes. I know this question was raised when I heard the former Ambassador speak before the committee. The suggestion was implied that, if we were to cut back our funding in these vital areas, that these services would not in fact be performed, and I think that is subscription to the classic, logical fallacy of either/or.

One need not necessarily terminate the U.S. support for any eleemosynary and humanitarian enterprises worldwide simply because we are no longer doing it through the agency of the United Nations. I would presume that no country, including some of our most outspoken enemies in the world, would reject American assistance if it were proffered in the event of, say, an internal disaster such as a drought, or famine, or a cataclysm of nature such as a hurricane, typhoon, or earthquake.

The United States can then unilaterally continue as it has consistently throughout the past to serve the humanitarian interests of peoples throughout the world, irrespective of what our ideological differences may be, and I don't think that it's essential that the United

Nations provide the only avenue through which we can continue to engage in philanthropy.

Mr. FRASER. You probably were here during the discussion on the Cyprus peacekeeping operation during our last hearing. At that time Ambassador Goldberg argued that the U.N. was a vital element in keeping Turkey and Greece from going to war. These are two of our NATO allies in what is described as a highly strategic area in the world in terms of U.S. interest. It would be your judgment, I gather, that even the financing of that should be to the population formula?

Mr. CRANE. Well, again I would suggest that with all due respect to the distinguished former Ambassador that he is employing an either/or fallacy in suggesting that were it not for the United Nations, presumably the world would be engulfed in war because of the problems in Cyprus.

Mr. FRASER. I don't know that he argued that but I think he argues that the risks would have been substantially greater.

Mr. CRANE. By the same token we can look at other trouble spots where the United States acted unilaterally, and I am thinking of Lebanon in 1958, and we could have done that without any U.N. sanctions or approval or disapproval.

I am thinking of the problems in the Middle East today which are, in fact, not being solved by the U.N. and which were, in fact, in no small measure created by action taken by the U.N. back in 1967. It seems to me that there have always been these opportunities available on the part of nations truly interested in preserving peace and I don't think the Soviet Union is at all in the case of the Middle East problem, but the United States clearly is, Great Britain and France are, Israel is.

I think if it were not for Soviet intervention, even the Egyptians would be. This is the kind of alternative that has ever been available and the truth of the matter is the only real impact the United Nations has in trying to maintain any peacekeeping operation is the potential use of some sanction.

What sanction does the United Nations have other than the kind of collective military action which has taken place really only once in the history of the U.N. and that was in Korea against two aggressive powers, North Korea and Communist China.

And, as you know, at that time Communist China was branded by the U.N. as an aggressor for her violence against the peoples of South Korea and now the United Nations, without any repeal of that condemnation of Red China, has brought such a country into its own ranks, seated them, in fact, in the Security Council and the General Assembly which again I think illustrates the incapacity of the U.N. any longer to provide any moral force on the one hand, or to provide any effective international peace-keeping force with sanctions imposed by a collection of military forces.

In my judgment, we increasingly must look to the interests of the United States and those other countries that are still truly committed to peace and freedom worldwide to act in concert by mutual agreement as Britain and France and the United States, at least, are trying to do to maintain peace in the Middle East.

Mr. FRASER. If I may say, one thing that strikes me about your statement is your pointing out the vote of the Communist countries on the censure of the United States with the Rhodesian action and the action



with respect to the seating of China. Then you point, as you just have, to our friends like Britain and France. Britain and France voted against us in both of these measures. None of our NATO allies supported us on either of these issues, I think, with the possible exception of Portugal. I think Portugal abstained on the final China question.

Do I understand that your view is that the NATO countries are all wrong in their assessment on these questions?

Mr. CRANE. On the question of the seating of Red China, I think, indeed, they were wrong. As I said, there was a clear repudiation of explicit principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I think the United States, for that matter—

Mr. FRASER. I understand that is your view, but they held a different view.

Mr. CRANE. Yes; but the charter is rather explicit on the point.

Mr. FRASER. You mean that the Nationalist Government was identified by name?

Mr. CRANE. By name as a permanent member of the Security Council and the procedural steps for expelling a member are very explicit as well.

Now I am not saying that they could not have expelled Nationalist China but what I am saying is there are procedural steps involved in that process of expulsion which were ignored altogether and at that point they had done sufficient violence to the Charter of the United Nations that from that point on any commitments the United States had at the time of the inception of the U.N. had been arbitrarily broken by those powers that elected to pursue that course.

This being the case, I think we have to reevaluate the figures of the U.N. and the service it can perform in a different light which is not to say that it is a useless body. As I indicated, it can still perform a number of functions, but certainly not those exalted goals which were embraced in the preamble and subscribed to, I think, in good faith certainly by the United States and most countries in 1946.

Mr. FRASER. Well, I think you have done a good job of making your views clear. I must say that I am struck that you have the United States, in effect, going it alone in its views about some of these worldwide questions and asserting the primacy of the correctness of its views to a point where, with the other countries disagreeing, we would make a very sharp departure in terms of our relationships with these other countries through the U.N.

Let me just put one final question, if I may.

Supposing that we passed the bill that you are authoring and the United Nations took up the question of assessments and concluded that while there might be a reduction for the United States to some lower figure, that they were not prepared to go to the level that your bill would suggest, would it be your view that under those circumstances the United States should pull out?

Mr. CRANE. No, not necessarily.

Mr. FRASER. Let me just follow the scenario there for a moment.

If by law we are limited to 6 or 7 percent and, let's say, that the U.N. came up with a figure of 25 percent, then after 2 years we would be subject to expulsion. So I want to make it explicit in that event when we came to that kind of confrontation you would be in effect prepared to see the United States voted out?

Mr. CRANE. I cannot in my wildest imagination contemplate any day, notwithstanding the reduced level of funding, that those other member nations of the U.N. would turn down \$63 million American dollars annually.

Mr. FRASER. You are right. I think it is clear that the U.N. is reluctant to take on any of the large powers, and I think that is one of its limitations. But if it should come to that point, do I understand that rather than comply with the assessment that might have been agreed upon under the charter provisions, that you would be prepared to see the United States depart from the U.N.

Mr. CRANE. The fact that the United Nations has already acted so capriciously and so whimsically means that we run that risk irrespective of our level of funding, so that is always a fear to be contemplated and I suppose the United States would have little way of dealing with it. They could turn on us as capriciously as they did on Nationalist China.

My point is that I cannot imagine that so many of those deadbeats up there, who are \$176 million in arrears in their financial obligations to the United Nations, would, in fact, arbitrarily take an action and turn down in the process somewhere between 60 and 70 million American dollars annually.

Mr. FRASER. One of the countries in debt was the Nationalist Government of China.

Mr. CRANE. At the same time I think you have to keep in mind that Nationalist China was paying for the entire population of China and she assumed the burden for the 700 million people.

Mr. FRASER. That is her claim, that she represented them.

Mr. CRANE. To be sure. At the same time if you examine the degree of arrearage of payment you will find that the Communist bloc was more in arrears than Nationalist China was and we had no assurance that had Nationalist China remained and retained her position in the Security Council it would not have made every effort to pay up her arrears.

Frankly, I think on the basis of the enormous load that she sustained during that 26-year period that we could have depended upon Nationalist China to do that.

Mr. FRASER. I was not trying to argue that Nationalist China was not having problems but you referred to the deadbeats and I wondered if you included Nationalist China in that description?

Mr. CRANE. I don't think you can include Nationalist China because she made every effort to meet what was obviously, until her expulsion, an enormous burden—14 million people on the island of Taiwan carrying the burden for 714 million people.

Mr. FRASER. France would be another deadbeat.

Mr. CRANE. Yes; absolutely, in arrears of payment.

The Communist block is \$118 of that \$176 million. The others are obviously not members of the Communist bloc.

Mr. KAZEN. I have no questions.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. GROSS.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to make at least one comment.

I am intrigued by the resort to the Goldberg testimony and the risk there might have been of war on Cyprus if the United Nations had not been there. That reminds me of the old story of the dog and the rabbit. You will remember that there has been the argument that if the dog



had not stopped to carry out certain functions, he might have caught the rabbit.

I think the answer to Cyprus is the fact that we served notice on the warring factions, the Turks and the Greeks, that if war broke out on Cyprus neither would be likely to get any more lollipops from the United States. I think that is the determining factor in Cyprus, Mr. Goldberg to the contrary notwithstanding, and if the United Nations is such a potent force for peace, where the hell are they today as between India and Pakistan?

Mr. FRASER. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Crane. I think you did a very good job of developing the issues that we want to examine.

Mr. CRANE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. It is a great privilege for the subcommittee to have a very able Member of the House, Mr. Waggonner of Louisiana, appear and we are honored with your presence here today. Mr. Waggonner.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA**

Mr. WAGGONNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that very warm welcome on a cold winter morning.

I want to express my appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, personally and to the other members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to come and talk with you about this proposal. I believe you have copies of the statement from my office?

Mr. FRASER. Yes, we have.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like first to present my statement in support of the bill introduced by Congressman Bob Sikes, Mr. Crane and myself along with 69 others of our fellow colleagues on the question of reducing the U.S. financial contribution to the United Nations organization and its related agencies.

If after that there are questions, I would be happy to attempt to respond.

This legislation provides for a new formula to be used for determining what our financial contributions to the United Nations system will be. That formula would be the percentage of the total U.S. population to that of the total U.N. member state population.

Presently there are 131 nations who are members of the United Nations organization, comprising a total population of roughly 3½ billion persons. The percentage of the U.S. population of that total comes to approximately 5.9 percent. Yet, of a total U.N. family expenditure for calendar year 1970 of \$947,900,000, the U.S. share was \$300,684,000, or 32 percent.

It is anticipated that our contribution in 1971 will be higher, some \$335,443,000. Our esteemed colleague of the House, John Rooney, chairman of the House Subcommittee on State Department Appropriations places the percentage of U.S. contributions as high as 38.3 percent for 1971. At any rate, it is a substantial amount.

No other country in the world appreciates the need for peace in the world as much as this one does. No nation has given as much of itself in maintaining peace in the world as has this one. Our history has proved that.

It was mainly through the efforts of the United States that a post-Second World War peace in the world was restored and an international body—the U.N.—was created to help maintain that peace. The United States has realized its responsibilities in this regard and has met them.

Today, however, we are forced to consider other things equally important.

The economic problems that beset our country are fast approaching the crisis stage. The resolution of these problems is of vital interest to the whole world. An economically healthy United States means an economically healthy world.

There is no doubt that the world is dependent on the economic stability of the United States. However, we have not of late shown that level of economic stability which exudes the confidence necessary to preserve the world's economic system. One of those reasons has been that we have overextended ourselves financially. And giving more than our fair share in voluntary contributions to the U.N. is a good case in point.

The U.S. Government and the American taxpayer cannot continue alone to carry the heavy burden of peace in the world. The responsibility and duty for doing so must also be met by others. This is all that we are asking.

It is not being unrealistic, in my opinion, to do so. On the contrary, there are member nations of the U.N. body who are presently in arrears in their assessed contributions to that body upward of \$80 million. Some of those same countries continue year after year to increase their spending for the purpose of building weapons of war. We can no longer spend untold millions of dollars to wage peace in the world, while other nations, who are aggressive in nature, spend their country's wealth in preparing for war. Either we are waging peace in the world, or we are not.

There is a precedent for legislation of this nature that would limit the amount of U.S. financial contributions to the United Nations. The Department of State Appropriations Act, 1953, approved on July 10, 1952—Public Law 495, 82d Congress 66 stat. 550; 22 U.S.C. 262b—set a limit of 33⅓ percent on the amount the U.S. Government could contribute to the total budget of any international organization.

In addition, there are specific legislative limitations on the percentage contribution of the United Nations to the World Health Organization, 33⅓ percent; Food and Agriculture Organization, 33⅓; and the International Labor Organization, 25 percent.

So I say to you, I think it is past time that we realistically view this question of U.N. funding and reduce our contributions accordingly.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you, Mr. Waggonner.

Mr. GROSS?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Waggonner, it is refreshing to have you and such colleagues as Mr. Sikes and Mr. Crane come before this subcommittee. It is a breath of fresh air.

We don't often have that pleasure.

I compliment you on your statement.



I have no questions, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Kazen?

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Chairman, I also wish to welcome our esteemed colleague before the subcommittee and to commend him for his statement.

I have no questions.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Waggonner, let me just see if I can grasp the full import of the position that you would have the United States take. I gather you are not suggesting that we pull out of the U.N. at this point?

Mr. WAGGONNER. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. FRASER. I was asking Mr. Crane what his views would be if the United Nations General Assembly were to accept the apportionment of the expenses that did not accede to the population formula.

Mr. WAGGONNER. That did not?

Mr. FRASER. That did not accede to a population formula so that we would be left with a higher assessment than that suggested by your bill. It could lead to a confrontation of some kind in which the position of the United States and the U.N. might be put at risk. What would your view be about what should happen at that point.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I think, Mr. Chairman, we just finished one confrontation and have gone to another. The confrontation we had over the expulsion of Taiwan was one that we lost and Red China challenged us with her opening words when she came to the United Nations. I just think that we would have to meet each confrontation on its merits as they developed and support the needs of the United States in this world organization with regard to financial assessments based on population.

It seems to me that if the courts in this land say that we have to do everything on a one-man, one-vote basis, if its good enough for us in this country, we ought to practice it on the international level as well.

Mr. FRASER. Well. I think the question of voting is a very real question in the U.N. and as you say, we have that in the United States, but we finance the Federal Government on an ability to pay basis.

Would you carry the population formula into the financing of the Federal Government? In other words, we would have a per capita assessment of the Federal budget rather than the present Federal income tax.

Mr. WAGGONNER. No; I don't think I would, and I don't think you would either.

Mr. FRASER. Well, if you wish to apply U.S. Government formula to the United Nations as you have indicated, why would you finance the U.N. differently than the Federal Government?

Mr. WAGGONNER. The U.N. is entirely different. There is no way to equate our responsibility to the people of the United States to provide for them that which the Constitution requires we provide in the way of freedoms, et cetera, as opposed to the United Nations and our responsibility to that organization.

We have a responsibility first of all to the United States and its population. I, first of all, am a representative from the Fourth Congressional District of Louisiana; my first responsibility is to the people I represent.

We, as representatives of the United States and our representatives in the United Nations are representatives to the United Nations from the United States and our first obligation is to represent the United States and the citizens thereof.

Mr. FRASER. Would you apply the same measure with respect to NATO expenditures?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Well, we don't have any required contributions to NATO to the best of my knowledge. We have some voluntary agreements.

Mr. FRASER. Your bill covers both assessed and voluntary contributions to the U.N., so would you apply the same formula?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I think we would be better off if we did. I think we would get more out of the others.

I am somewhat disappointed in the cooperation we get from our NATO allies and the effort we make through NATO.

Mr. FRASER. They have not been cooperating with us recently.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I certainly would be willing to trade out with you. If we would adopt the formula which I've presented with respect to U.S. contributions to the United Nations, I think we would reach some common ground with regard to our contributions to NATO.

Mr. FRASER. And you would apply this same limitation to the U.N. Children's Fund?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I would apply it to every activity both required and voluntary.

Mr. FRASER. In the Middle East?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Yes, sir. That required activities and the voluntary funds, as well.

Mr. FRASER. And this would include peacekeeping?

Mr. WAGGONNER. In every respect. As far as peacekeeping is concerned, it is something that is on paper; it does not amount to anything. As the gentleman from Iowa said a minute ago, where are they now in the confrontation and where is the United States in not asking the United Nations to try to do something about what is developing between India and Pakistan?

Mr. FRASER. We had some discussion about Cyprus and the peacekeeping operation on Cyprus which, at least, some observers say showed the ability of the U.N. to avoid a serious risk of war between Greece and Turkey. Would you share that view?

Mr. WAGGONNER. The ability to do it?

Mr. FRASER. The ability of the United Nations to put Canadian and other troops into Cyprus and prevent a head-on confrontation between the Greeks and the Turks?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am not yet willing to support the principle of required participation in such peacekeeping efforts. I am willing to support the principle of voluntary participation. I have a theory about the United Nations as far as peacekeeping is concerned, or any other problem is concerned, and that is when the United Nations has a problem between two small nations, the problem disappears. When it has a problem between a small nation and a large nation, the small nation disappears, and when there is a problem between large nations, the United Nations disappears.

I just don't think the U.N. face up to all problems presented before it.



Mr. FRASER. I think that is probably right, we didn't see the U.N. involved in our landing on the Dominican Republic or our abortive effort to invade Cuba. In neither case did the U.N. intervene.

Mr. GROSS. Or Vietnam.

Mr. FRASER. Nor in the Hungary or Czechoslovakian invasion by the Soviet Union. So I think that accurately describes the limitations of the U.N. Nevertheless, I was just trying to get your assessment of the value of the U.N. in other arenas in which a major power is not involved on the ground.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe the U.N. could be a force in the world today if the obligations of the charter, the requirements of the charter were met by each and every member nation of the United Nations. If everybody who is a member of the United Nations subscribed to peace and tried to walk out on the road toward peace, then it could be a potent force; but, that is not the situation.

Mr. FRASER. What is your view of the best way to achieve the competence to carry out that role?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Well, I think one of the fairest ways is to do what we propose here and let everybody believe they are going to get out of it what they put into it, and if they don't put anything into it, they are not going to get anything out of it. There are many countries not putting anything in but they are getting a heck of a lot out.

For instance, today the U.S.S.R. is in arrears to the extent of \$86,864,900.

Mr. FRASER. What is the French deficit?

Mr. GROSS. A good many millions.

Mr. WAGGONNER. France has a deficit of \$17,796,807, and we in the United States even have a deficit of \$2,136,839, but that is a rather insignificant figure of the whole arrearage total which is \$176,699,174. And the U.S. deficit is even more meaningless when one considers the amount we do pay each year.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Chairman?

Are those arrears in contributions to the United Nations or to the other organizations?

Mr. WAGGONNER. These are arrears to the United Nations, UNEF and UNOC, so that is operations.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Waggonner, according to your figures this year the United States contributed to the U.N. \$300,684,000?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KAZEN. Under your formula, what would that have amounted to?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Under my formula, it would be, as Mr. Crane said, just a few minutes ago, somewhere between \$60 and \$70 million. It would be 5.9 percent.

Mr. KAZEN. Thank you.

Mr. FRASER. Well, thank you.

Mr. GROSS. I must make one comment on your statement that we support this Government on the basis of ability to pay. I am sure the Democratic study group, the ADA, and all of these Democrat groups will tell you differently. We hear it constantly stated on the House floor that too many people are escaping their fair share of the taxload.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Gross, if I could comment on that, I have the old-fashioned idea that everybody who earns something should pay so they better understand how this Government is financed and where these so-called free services really come from. I don't think anyone really understands something until he has to pay for it.

Mr. GROSS. But the gentleman has seen those statements of Common Cause and all the rest of them.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Yes, sir; but I am not prone to reading those statements.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I have to read them to try to keep up with their doubletalk.

Mr. FRASER. I might say, Mr. Gross, our feeling has been that we would like to have the oil companies put something on it instead of putting it on the farmers of Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. That is exactly the point I am making. You say one thing, but then your organizations say something else.

Mr. FRASER. We all subscribe for perfection we have not arrived at.

Mr. GROSS. The mistake of the Charter of the United Nations is the mistake of the old covenant of the League of Nations, that nations bound together in time of war would be bound together for the same reasons in time of peace. Nothing could be further from the truth, and until the Charter of the United Nations——

Mr. WAGGONNER. Unless the time of peace comes before the time of war.

Mr. GROSS. Until the United Nations Charter is revised to make it practical and workable, it is not worth the powder to blow it out of New York.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I understand some are unhappy about it being there now and thinking about leaving, and I would wish them well.

Mr. GROSS. So do I.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Maybe they won't come back after Christmas.

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Waggonner. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you so much.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Our next witness is the Honorable Samuel De Palma, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

Mr. Secretary, we are glad to have you here, and apologize to you for having to come back the second time. We appreciate your being here this morning. Why don't you go ahead on whatever basis you like.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. SAMUEL DE PALMA, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

Mr. DE PALMA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I welcome this opportunity to discuss the proposal to change the basis for paying U.S. contributions to the United Nations family of agencies and programs from the present system to one based on comparative population data.

It would be useful at the outset to review the method for establishing the assessments of U.N. members. The background will make clear



what has been done to reduce the U.S. assessment rate in the past, and will indicate what can most usefully be done to continue this process in the future.

Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations provides that "the expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." What this provision means essentially, Mr. Chairman, is that the United States, so long as it is a member of the United Nations, is subject to the rate of assessment apportioned to it by the United Nations General Assembly and decided by a two-thirds majority.

To assist in making its apportionment, the General Assembly relies upon the technical advice of an expert Committee on Contributions. This body presently consists of 12 individuals, appointed on the basis of broad geographic representation, personal qualifications, and experience. It includes one American. Rule 161 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly provides that the Committee on Contributions shall advise the General Assembly "concerning the apportionment \* \* \* of the expenses of the Organization among Members, broadly according to capacity to pay."

The terms of reference of the Committee on Contributions have also included from the U.N.'s beginning the provision that "if a ceiling is imposed on contributions, the ceiling should not be such as seriously to obscure the relation between a nation's contributions and its capacity to pay."

From the outset of the United Nations, the capacity-to-pay criterion has been applied by the Committee on Contributions through the use of comparative national income statistics. These data have been progressively improved and the comparability of the data has been enhanced by the use since 1964 of comparative net national products at market prices. Net national product is defined as the total of personal and governmental consumption expenditures on goods and services, plus expenditures for investment. Net national product differs from gross national product by excluding depreciation allowance for capital consumption.

Acting according to its original criteria, the Committee on Contributions in its first apportionment set the U.S. rate of assessment for 1946 at 49.89 percent. The United States objected to this assessment. While recognizing the difficulty of other states in making contributions after the devastation of the Second World War, Senator Vandenberg, speaking for this Government, pointed out that the United States did not think the U.N. organization ought to rely unduly upon the contributions of a single member. This vigorous U.S. objection succeeded in persuading the Assembly to reduce the U.S. rate for 1946 to 39.89 percent, and it remained at that level through 1949.

In 1948, the United Nations agreed in principle that "in normal times, no one member state should contribute more than one-third of the ordinary expenses of the United Nations for any one year." Simultaneously, the General Assembly recognized that "the per capita contribution of any member should not exceed the per capita contribution of the member which bears the highest assessment." In 1954, the 33 1/3-percent ceiling was brought into effect by a General Assembly resolution.

In 1957, the General Assembly, again at our insistence, reduced the ceiling to 30 percent in principle, and the U.S. contribution has been moving toward that rate ever since. Thus, in 1970, when the Committee on Contributions made its apportionment for the years 1971-73, the percentage contributions of the members which had entered the organization during the previous 3 years, amounting to 0.16 percentage points, were distributed proportionately among the membership, with the United States receiving 0.05 percentage points. This process reduced the U.S. contribution from 31.57 percent in 1968-70 to 31.52 percent in the 1971-73 period.

As a result of the criteria supplied to the Committee on Contributions by the General Assembly, five general classes of member states exist for the purposes of apportionment. With respect to the criterion of capacity to pay, three of these categories are relatively advantaged, and two are relatively disadvantaged.

The three categories of United Nations members who are specially advantaged in the determination of their assessment rates are:

1. Members with per capita incomes below \$1,000 per year and assessment rates above the 0.04 percent minimum rate. These less-developed countries are given an allowance for low per capita income which reduces their assessment rate.

2. The second category of specially advantaged members includes only the United States, whose percentage share is reduced below capacity to pay by the application of the ceiling principle.

The U.N. Committee on Contributions pointed out with reference to the scale for 1968-70 that if the rate of assessment of the United States were assessed on the basis of comparative national income statistics adjusted for low per capita income, its rate would have been 39.48 percent instead of the actual assessment rate for that period of 31.57 percent.

3. A few countries have also benefited from the application of the per capita ceiling principle which holds that "the per capita contribution of any member state should not exceed the per capita contribution of the member which bears the highest assessment." Relatively small reductions in assessment rates have been applied to Canada, Kuwait, New Zealand, and Sweden over the years in order that their per capita contribution not exceed the per capita contribution of the United States.

There are also two categories of specially disadvantaged members who pay more than they would under the strict application of the capacity-to-pay criterion as measured by relative national product. These are:

1. Members individually assessed at the minimum rate of 0.04 percent—which is the case for more than 60 of the poorest members—who pay more because the minimum rate exceeds their assessment based on capacity to pay.

2. Members with per capita incomes above \$1,000 per year—except for those affected by the ceilings—also pay more than their relative capacity to pay. This group of developed countries pays more because the assessment rate of each, based on capacity to pay, is substantially increased to pay for the benefits given the advantaged categories, including the United States.



To summarize, Mr. Chairman, because of the adoption of an arbitrary ceiling, for over 25 years the United States has paid less than it would have if it had been assessed according to the same criteria applied to the other main industrial states, including the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and Canada.

The legislation you are considering, which relates assessments to population, implies a United Nations assessment rate for the United States which we estimate at 6.20 percent in place of the present U.S. assessment of 31.52 percent. On a strict capacity-to-pay basis, we estimate that at the present time the U.S. rate, based on national income statistics when adjusted to benefit the low per capita states, would actually be 38.40 percent. Comparable figures for the Soviet Union, including Byelorussia and the Ukraine, would be 7.34 percent on a population basis as compared with 14.66 percent on the adjusted basis. In fact, the Soviet Union is now assessed at 16.55 percent. The difference between 14.66 percent and 16.55 percent is the extra amount we estimate the Soviet Union is assessed because of the ceiling principle applied to the U.S. contribution.

Comparable figures for France are 1.54 percent on the basis of population as compared with its present assessment of 6 percent; and for the United Kingdom, 1.72 percent on the basis of population as compared with its present assessment of 5.90 percent. These figures show that other major industrial powers would also gain a significant advantage from an assessment based on population.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, in our judgment there would be little or no support even from these countries for changing the apportionment pattern in the United Nations to one based on the criterion of comparative population. We strongly doubt that these other prospective beneficiaries would favor it because they would not want to take on the large majority that would oppose it on the grounds of its being unrealistic and unfair. The large population states like China which would be assessed at about 22.85 percent, or Pakistan at 3.34 percent, or Brazil at 2.67 percent, or India at 15.91 percent, or Indonesia at 3.43 percent, et cetera, would obviously find it unacceptable.

We are convinced it would be impossible to negotiate such a scale of assessment because of the gross anomalies it would introduce.

Very poor countries would find themselves paying many times their present rate, while the rate of most affluent countries would be substantially reduced. Based on average per capita incomes, an Indonesian would contribute about 44 times more of his income than the average U.S. citizen; the average Nigerian would contribute about 49 times more. In terms of time per capita worked to pay toward their country's U.N. assessment, under the population scale an American would work 2 minutes, an Ethiopian 2 hours, an Englishman 4 minutes, and a Brazilian 25 minutes. In fact, under the population scale, everyone's per capita contribution, expressed in time worked to pay toward the U.N. assessment, would exceed that of the average American.

Now, obviously, Mr. Chairman, we could not defend such a scale on the grounds of reason or equity, and certainly could not expect to gain a two-thirds majority for it.

I strongly hope the Congress would not decide that the United States should pay its U.N. assessment at a 6-percent rate. If we unilaterally sought to pay on the basis of population, the United States would soon be sufficiently in arrears to lose its vote in the General Assembly and, even earlier, would have pushed the United Nations over the fiscal brink. Mr. Chairman, this is not a formula for reducing the U.S. contribution; it is a formula for abandoning the United Nations.

Now, I have been speaking of assessed contributions. Insofar as voluntary contributions are concerned, we now contribute at varying rates—depending on our interest in the programs—but generally at a rate not to exceed 40 percent. Were we to reduce our contributions to about 6 percent, we would be contributing far less than our fair share to important peacekeeping, economic development, and humanitarian activities.

Mr. Chairman, that having been said, our experience of the past 25 years demonstrates that we can and should continue to seek downward revision both in our assessment percentage and in the U.N. ceiling rate itself. This experience has shown in particular that reductions are most successfully accomplished when new members with substantial contributions enter the Organization.

Under this condition, none of the old members would have its own contribution raised if the ceiling rate were lowered. Consequently, we are looking forward to the time when, for example, it will be possible for the Federal Republic of Germany to enter the Organization with a percentage assessment rate which has already been set by the Committee on Contributions at 6.80 percent. Should the United States get almost the full benefit of this amount, its rate of assessment could reach the 25 percent recommended by the Lodge Commission last April. You will recall that this Presidential Commission made the following recommendation:

As new members are brought into the U.N., their assessed contributions to the regular budget, which may be substantial, will call for a redistribution of the financial burdens reflected in the scale of assessment. Furthermore, for its own independence and development, an international organization of 127 members should not depend upon one state for almost one-third of the contributions to its regular budget.

The Commission recommends that the United States affirm its intention to maintain and increase its total contributions to the U.N., but that, as part of a redistribution of responsibilities, it will seek over a period of years to reduce its current contribution of 31.52 percent to the assessed regular budget of the Organization so that eventually its share will not exceed 25 percent.

In recommending that the United States seek a reduction of the percentage of its assessment for the regular budget, the Commission wishes to emphasize that it is in no way proposing any diminution of the overall commitment of U.S. resources to the U.N. system. Each reduction in the U.S. share of the regular budget must be clearly marked by at least a corresponding increase in U.S. contributions to one or more of the voluntary budgets or funds in the U.N. system.

Mr. Chairman, we have given this recommendation of the Lodge Commission the most serious consideration. We have decided that it is an appropriate and necessary goal for the United States to pursue and we shall work to achieve it as rapidly as we can, hopefully in connection with the admission of new members. We believe that a reduc-



tion of our assessment to 25 percent would be beneficial to the U.N. because the Organization ought not to be overly dependent on the contribution of a single member. Above all, we do not believe it is politically advisable for an organization of sovereign and juridically equal states, which is approaching universality of membership, to perpetuate such an extreme disparity between voting power and influence, on the one hand, and financial contributions on the other.

Mr. Chairman, a 25-percent ceiling for assessed contributions would achieve a better balance between voting power and capacity to pay, without abandoning capacity to pay as a major criterion. Finally, let me stress that we have had this matter under study for some time and our decision to work toward this goal has been taken as a matter of principle and not in retaliation for recent events in the General Assembly.

Thank you.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. GROSS?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. De Palma, which one of the Lodge's headed this commission? Which one?

Mr. DE PALMA. Ambassador Lodge.

Mr. GROSS. Which one of the well-traveled Lodge's?

Mr. DE PALMA. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

Mr. GROSS. Henry, the most traveled of the Lodge's.

I never heard of him being very much interested in saving any money for the taxpayers of this country when it came to spending for international purposes, so I am not very much impressed with any commission report which emanates from the hands of Henry Cabot Lodge.

Is he the same Henry Cabot Lodge who traveled far and wide trying to drum up support around the world to help us in the war in Vietnam?

Mr. DE PALMA. He was involved in that effort, yes.

Mr. GROSS. Do you remember the Council on Foreign Relations, that exclusive club in New York that limits its voting membership to a few miles from the heart of Wall Street?

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes, I am aware of that organization.

Mr. GROSS. You are aware of that?

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. Is he a member of that organization, do you know?

Mr. DE PALMA. I don't know.

Mr. GROSS. He maintains a residence in New York, he is a full-fledged member of it, isn't he?

Mr. DE PALMA. I just don't know.

Mr. GROSS. I can look that up, I guess. I have a copy of the report upstairs.

We have not had any direct witnesses from the Council on Foreign Relations, have we?

Mr. FRASER. Not as such, but we did have Ambassador Lodge before our subcommittee explaining the proposals several months ago.

Mr. GROSS. You are for a 6-percent cut, is that right?

Mr. DE PALMA. I think we should work toward it, yes, sir,——

Mr. GROSS. Negotiate our way down to 25 percent.

I thought I heard the Secretary of State pontificate on that yesterday at the briefing for Members of Congress, did he not?

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes, I think he mentioned it there, and he mentioned it last night at his Overseas Press Club appearance.

Mr. GROSS. Isn't this going to increase the take from the Indonesians and the Ethiopians? A 6-percent cut for the United States will increase the levy on them, won't it?

Mr. DE PALMA. It would if it were done now in an arbitrary way. It would not necessarily if it were done in connection with the admission of new members into the Organization.

Mr. GROSS. Well, we have not been relieved of very much by the admission of a lot of new members to the United Nations, have we?

Mr. DE PALMA. Very fractional percentage points, but we have been relieved each time as new members were admitted and as the new scales of assessment were computed.

Mr. GROSS. I see. That was a whopping cut from 31.57 to 31.52.

Mr. DE PALMA. That was our proportionate share.

Mr. GROSS. That was a hell of a cut, was it not?

Mr. DE PALMA. That was a very small addition that was contributed by these very small states. It was a very small cut.

Mr. GROSS. So the 6 percent that even you advocate and the Secretary of State is going to have a serious effect, isn't it, upon this?

Mr. DE PALMA. It definitely will if it is done without the admission of new members bringing in substantial contributions, yes.

Mr. GROSS. How many more new members?

Mr. DE PALMA. I cited, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany because its assessed contribution would be over 6 percent.

Mr. GROSS. I don't know whether the Federal Republic of Germany is going to be very much interested after this last go around in New York.

I notice you mention the two-thirds vote in your statement, Mr. De Palma. We really got a treatment on the basis of the two-thirds, didn't we, and the application of the two-thirds vote. Didn't we?

Mr. DE PALMA. We lost that vote; yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. So I don't know of any reason why a two-thirds vote should be conjured up in connection with this situation. Why should we pay any more attention to a two-thirds vote? It seems to me that was a violation of the Charter of the United Nations when they refused to apply the two-thirds vote to the so-called important question. Don't you think it was?

Mr. DE PALMA. Mr. Congressman, you know the fight we made; we had a strong point of view and we expressed it. But, very obviously, a large majority did not agree with us.

Mr. GROSS. I am not impressed at all with this two-thirds vote business. I think that in the future the United States ought to ignore it. Somewhere in your statement you said that if we didn't ante up on the basis of about 25 percent, there would be no United Nations, or we would be abandoning the United Nations. Is that the gist of your testimony?

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes; I made such a statement.

Mr. GROSS. Would that be bad?

Mr. DE PALMA. I think it would, very definitely.



Mr. GROSS. I expected you to say that.

Mr. DE PALMA. I think it would be very harmful to the national interests of the United States.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I doubt if you and I will get together on this issue.

Mr. DE PALMA. I don't think we would.

Mr. GROSS. Or very many other issues with respect to raiding the taxpayers of this country for more and better handouts to foreigners.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Kazen?

Mr. KAZEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, I want to thank you for the statement which you have made before us this morning. I must confess that this is the first time that I have really seen a breakdown on the history of assessments, and I am glad to have it.

You made one statement, Mr. Secretary, that in 1957 the General Assembly, again at our insistence, reduced the ceiling to 30 percent in principle. What do you mean by that?

Mr. DE PALMA. Well, they took a decision that there ought to be a ceiling of 30 percent on the maximum contribution. They did not at that very moment set our percentage point at 30 percent. Having established the principle, it was the understanding that we would work our way down to it as circumstances permitted, and that has been done.

We have not reached it yet, but reductions have been achieved through readjusting this scale as new members have been admitted. We have gotten down to 31.52 percent as a result of that process, so the ceiling exists in principle as the goal toward which we are expected to move. What I am suggesting is that we ought now to work to set the ceiling at 25 and not just in principle but to get ourselves down to 25 percent as rapidly as we can.

Mr. KAZEN. How would you do that?

Mr. DE PALMA. I think that the most obvious way to do it, the easiest way to do it, and perhaps the only politically feasible way to do it, is to take advantage of the admission of additional members. I am not speaking of a purely hypothetical situation because there is a very definite prospect, as you know, in the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany to work out an inner-German agreement. Once the treaty with the Soviet Union and the related documents are signed, the powers concerned have already indicated that they intend and are willing for both Germanys to enter the United Nations. This is not a purely theoretical prospect; it is a probable one.

Mr. KAZEN. Well, when you talk about the admission of new members, in the German Federation the only one that you are talking about?

Mr. DE PALMA. No; I cited Germany because it would bring in such a substantial contribution as to be very meaningful in this context. There are, obviously, a few others. Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations itself, for example.

Mr. KAZEN. Is there any hope that Switzerland will be in, say, within the next 5 years?

Mr. DE PALMA. I don't know, but the matter is under discussion again in Switzerland.

Mr. KAZEN. What other countries?

Mr. DE PALMA. Other countries would not be financially significant. Other divided states include the two Koreas, for example, and I am making no prediction about that, and the two Vietnams, which I am leaving out for the moment.

Mr. KAZEN. Therefore, there are no new nations coming in?

Mr. DE PALMA. I have cited the two Germanys.

Mr. KAZEN. But they are not new.

Mr. DE PALMA. Neither Germany is now a member of the United Nations. Nor is Switzerland.

Mr. KAZEN. We are thinking about the foreseeable, workable future, because the next 2 or 3 years is going to be very vital to the United Nations.

Mr. DE PALMA. Let's leave it at the two Germanys. That would be enough if we should get the benefit of their contributions.

Mr. KAZEN. Well, that would be a drop in the bucket to what people would expect in this country, frankly.

Let me ask you another question about the Lodge Commission report. They say that each reduction in the U.S. share of the regular budget must be clearly marked by at least a corresponding increase in U.S. contributions to one or more of the voluntary budgets for funds in the U.N. system.

Mr. DE PALMA. Correct.

Mr. KAZEN. What would we have gained if we are going to save on the one hand and put it in on the other?

Mr. DE PALMA. Congressman Kazen, I spoke to the 25 percent, I did not address myself to the latter part of the Lodge Commission's recommendation. I said that we think the goal of reducing our assessed contribution toward 25 percent is right, and we should work hard to achieve it. I have not addressed myself to the other problem, but I do think it is important to maintain the level of our voluntary contributions.

I, myself, think those contributions ought to be based in general on relative capacity to pay, with exceptions which we might consider when for some particular reason we believe we should pay more or less. It is hard to make any general rule of thumb as to what we should contribute toward the voluntary programs. I think it is important in general that we, for example, do carry out the President's policy of trying to channel more of our foreign assistance through multilateral organizations, and I would include the U.N. Development Program in that. But I am not at this point linking the two parts of the Lodge Commission's recommendation.

Mr. KAZEN. Well, the only reason I am interested is because it is all in the same breath, in the same sentence.

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes.

Mr. KAZEN. And how in the world can you defend if we are going to fight for this reduction to 25 percent on the one hand and not have these people jump on us and say, "Well, all right, now, if you do, you are following this recommendation. What about the other, putting in a corresponding increase to your voluntary contribution?" It is going to be a pretty difficult situation.



Mr. DE PALMA. I would expect we would be reminded of that. I would not expect when we make this proposal to the U.N. that we would necessarily cite the Lodge Commission report. Others will have read it, and they will no doubt remind us of it.

Mr. KAZEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRAZER. Mr. Secretary, let me, too, thank you for a very helpful and well-conceived statement.

Would the United Nations in your opinion openly agree to the admission of East Germany in connection with West Germany's admission?

Mr. DE PALMA. Mr. Chairman, I don't really think I ought to get into anything that sounds like a policy statement. Let me say that it is my own personal view that if the two Germanys work out the arrangement that they are negotiating on now, if they are acceptable to the Federal Republic of Germany and then are deemed acceptable by the four powers, including the United States, I cannot personally see any reason why we would not vote to admit both any time they are ready.

Mr. FRASER. Does the United States have any intention or would it support the calling of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to deal with the very urgent financial, general financial problem which is facing the U.N.?

Mr. DE PALMA. Mr. Chairman, this question may be upon us shortly. It is a difficult question to answer. In general, obviously, we would support any kind of procedure that would enable and compel the members of this Organization to face up to this problem. We have been arguing as strenuously as we can that this situation cannot continue.

We have been hoping that the effort that the outgoing president of the last General Assembly, Mr. Hambro, had made would have produced results. To date, it has not, and I am not very hopeful that this particular effort is going to get us to a solution of this problem. So we are looking for other ways. In particular, we are looking very actively for ways to get those who created this problem to face up to the situation.

Now, whether a special session is the answer or not, I think, depends very much on whether we will have gotten to a point in preliminary consultations where there is some prospect of achieving anything. If not, we are going to get a repetition of what happened at the time the major deficit started when the Assembly decided that it would not apply article 19 of the charter. I don't think we want to walk into that kind of a deadlock. If we are going to go into a special session, we ought to have some reason to think we will achieve something. It is not necessary to have a special session; there is still some time before the end of this session; but, quite frankly, I am not all that hopeful.

Mr. FRASER. President Hambro's proposals represent the nucleus of the effort to try to establish some kind of new financing arrangement.

Mr. DE PALMA. Yes.

Mr. FRASER. Could you tell us a little about what he has in mind and comment on it?

Mr. DE PALMA. Well, I would do it very generally, if I may. We would be glad to submit something much more specific for the record, if you would like.

Mr. FRASER. If you would do that, it would be very useful.

Mr. DE PALMA. I would be very glad to.

(The information referred to follows:)

#### THE HAMBRO PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION OF THE U.N. FINANCIAL PROBLEM

In a memorandum of May 26, 1971, to all governments, Ambassador Edvard Hambro set the United Nations deficit (i.e., money owed by the U.N. to others) at \$69.6 million.

This deficit is comprised of 3 major components: Million

(1) Debts owed by the U.N. mostly to member governments which rendered direct support to the Congo and Middle East peacekeeping missions-----	\$36.7
(2) Shortfall in regular annual budget contributions caused by the withholdings of France, the U.S.S.R., and others since 1963-----	29.0
(3) Amounts due to certain member governments from "surplus accounts" (these are book accounts representing the excess of appropriations over actual costs for the Congo and Middle East peacekeeping missions. Had all assessments for peacekeeping been paid in full, the "surplus accounts" would have been refunded.) -----	17.3
Subtotal -----	83.0
Less amount remaining in so-called rescue fund, a fund supported by voluntary contributions from 22 members to alleviate the U.N. financial situation-----	-13.4
Net total-----	69.6

Under Hambro's scheme, the larger part of the deficit could be eliminated through waivers of claims by member governments, viz., \$34 million out of the \$36.7 million<sup>1</sup> due for direct support to peacekeeping missions and the entire \$17.3 million in the surplus accounts, leaving a net cash requirement of \$18.3 million to be obtained from voluntary contributions of members in order to eliminate the deficit.

While this would liquidate the current deficit, it would not eliminate the causes of the deficit: the annual withholding of part of their contributions by France, the U.S.S.R., and the East Europeans. To overcome this barrier, Hambro suggests eliminating the controversial items from the annual budget, and reconstituting the budget format to make it acceptable to all members.

This would involve the prompt settlement of the \$119.4 million still due on the U.N. bond issue, now being paid off in regular installments out of the U.N.'s annual budget. In addition, agreement would have to be reached on the other controversial sections of the budget, such as technical assistance, the U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the U.N. cemetery in Korea.

Hambro suggests that part of the bond issue be liquidated through a combination offset and cash surrender arrangement. Each bond-holding member government (60 in all) would deduct from the face value of its bond holdings the amount it would otherwise pay in assessed contributions over the next eighteen years to redeem the full bond issue. Then, the remainder could be reduced by a further 40% to a suggested "fair market value" for the bonds, which pay a minimal 2% interest. Bond holders could accept what remains in full payment for their holdings. The offset arrangement would reduce the cost of amortization by \$79 million, while the 40% cash surrender arrangement could result in a further cut of \$16.2 million, leaving a net cash requirement of \$24.2 million to retire the existing bond issue.

<sup>1</sup> \$2.7 million of this is owed to agencies other than member governments.



Thus, in summary, an overall solution to the financial problem, according to Hambro's proposals, would involve \$146.5 million in waivers and offsets and new cash contributions of about \$42.5 million to liquidate the deficit and retire the bonds. Since it is unlikely that all members would waive the debts owed them by the UN, the new cash requirement would probably be closer to \$50 million.

	<i>Million</i>
Deficit -----	\$69.6
Bond issue to be amortized -----	119.4
Subtotal -----	189.0
Less:	
Waivers of peacekeeping debts -----	34.0
Waivers of surplus accounts -----	17.3
Offset of bond repayments -----	79.0
40 percent cash surrender discount on bonds -----	16.2
Subtotal -----	146.5
Net Cash Requirement -----	42.5-50

Mr. DE PALMA. In essence, he is looking for a way both to wipe out the deficit and to deal with those items in the regular budget which are causing a problem because the Soviets and some others refuse to pay their share. He wants an adjustment in both those matters and also some cash payments. His total package involves paying off the U.N. bonds at their remaining value. To do these things there would have to be contributions on the order of \$40 to \$50 million in fresh money. In our view, this is money which is owed by those who caused the deficit.

The argument is over who is going to put up the money. So far, the French have put up \$3.9 million. That is the only new contribution that has been made, and this happened just recently. This is not adequate, in our view, but it is a step in the right direction. The Soviets have not offered any contribution. The matter is not closed, the discussions will continue, but we don't yet see a solution.

Mr. FRASER. Could you comment on the assertion that the fact that the charter specified the National Government of China as a member, made that Government's status subject to a regular expulsion procedure?

Mr. DE PALMA. Mr. Chairman, we had to deal with that argument extensively in the course of the Chinese representation discussion. I think one simple but perhaps graphic way of making the point is that if the Republic of China had changed its name, I don't think anybody would have argued that it no longer belonged on the Security Council. The names given to the members by the charter are the names that they had at the time the charter was drafted. Other countries have changed their names and have not caused any fuss in the United Nations. The point is that the large majority of U.N. members looked upon this as a representation problem. The question was who represents China and the fact that the Republic of China happened to be named in the U.N. Charter as the Government representing China at that time obviously was not persuasive with the majority. It now felt that a change had to be made.

We, ourselves, did not feel that this particular point was an argument which carried sufficient weight for us to make it part of our presentation to the Assembly.

Mr. FRASER. Were there any of our NATO Allies who voted with us in our final vote on the Albania question?

Mr. DE PALMA. As you indicated, Portugal voted with us on the important question vote.

Mr. FRASER. But on the final vote?

Mr. DE PALMA. I would have to check that. I would be glad to do it.

Mr. FRASER. If you don't have the list here, you could put it in the record.

Mr. DE PALMA. May I do that, please?

Mr. FRASER. Surely.

(The list referred to follows:)

#### VOTES OF NATO MEMBERS ON ALBANIAN RESOLUTION

No other NATO members voted with the United States against the Albanian resolution. Two members, Greece and Luxembourg, abstained. The rest voted in favor of this resolution. The Federal Republic of Germany is, of course, not a member of the United Nations.

Mr. FRASER. Well, I think that covers the questions I had, Mr. Secretary. I think your statement has been very useful. I want to say for myself that I think that your stated objective of reducing the U.S. assessed contribution and setting the target of achieving a 25-percent level is a wise one.

I, myself, would like to see the United States remain a strong supporter of the United Nations, but I do believe that for a lot of reasons that the 25-percent figure would make more sense. I am particularly impressed with the value of lessening the dependence of the U.N. on any one member, particularly when we have shown in the recent votes a willingness to disregard certain treaty obligations that stem from the U.N. Charter. I would hate to see the U.N. jeopardized by the actions of any nation which might undertake from time to time to cut back on its contribution, so I think a lessening of the dependency of the U.N. on the United States is a wise move, and I hope that you will be able to move forward toward that goal in the next few years.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Chairman, might I ask the Secretary a question?

Mr. FRASER. Yes.

Mr. KAZEN. I am a little bit disturbed in connection with his last statement there hopefully that we will be able to get a reduction. It has taken us 16 years since the 30 percent of principle thing was adopted and has only brought the percentage of our contributions down 1.81 percent in 16 years. We still have not achieved the 30 percent that we set down. Now, what happens if the Congress all of a sudden decides to limit our contributions to 25 percent?

Mr. DE PALMA. Well, if that happened, then we would fall into arrears until we had achieved that reduction through the process of negotiation.

Mr. KAZEN. But, you see, that is a tremendous percentage to shoot for, and if it has taken us 16 years for a benefit of only 1.81 percent, how many years will it take us to negotiate or work this thing out through the U.N. to bring down our contribution to 25 percent?

Mr. DE PALMA. I am in no position to predict how long it would take. What I am saying is that we don't intend to go at this in quite the same way. We are not going to be satisfied with simply establish-



ing a 25-percent ceiling as a matter of principle and then waiting to see when we can get down to it. We intend to argue that we want to get down to it as quickly as possible.

I can cite at least one case where we achieved some partial success which I think indicates that, in its present mood, the U.N. recognizes how we feel about these things and the process need not take so long. In the International Civil Aviation Organization, we argued that we should be given the major benefit of accession to the organization by the Soviet Union. After a very strenuous negotiating session, we went through the 30-percent ceiling which ICAO had also adopted in principle and down to 28.75 percent. In other words, through just sheer argument and persuasion, we were able to convince the ICAO members that, ceiling or not, we should be brought down to 28.75 percent. We were not satisfied by that, we had wanted to get down further, but I cite that as an example that there is some recognition in the U.N. system of the mood in this country. I am not saying we can get to 25 percent in the next General Assembly, but we are definitely going to get the process started.

Mr. KAZEN. How many years do they allow us to be in arrears after we are expelled?

Mr. DE PALMA. We would not be expelled; we would lose our vote.

Mr. KAZEN. Well, before we lose our vote.

Mr. DE PALMA. When our arrears reach an amount equivalent to the contributions due for the previous 2 years.

Mr. KAZEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Secretary, do you know how much we would receive on the basis of current methods of establishing assessment contributions of both Germanys?

Mr. DE PALMA. The assessment rate has been calculated for the Federal Republic of Germany at 6.8 percent.

The reason this was calculated is that the Federal Republic is a member of the Specialized Agencies. Some of them use the U.N. assessment scale and, therefore, the expert U.N. Committee on Contributions worked out this assessment.

East Germany is not a member of any Specialized Agency so its assessment has not been officially worked out. It also would be at a significant level although not on the order of the Federal Republic.

Mr. FRASER. It would put the aggregate over 8, perhaps 9 percent?

Mr. DE PALMA. My guess is between 8 and 9 percent. Close to 9 percent.

Mr. FRASER. Well, thank you, again, Mr. Secretary, for a very fine statement.

Mr. DE PALMA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRASER. Our final witness is Mr. Stephen M. Schwebel, professor of international law at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. Schwebel, we appreciated your earlier appearance and appreciate having you here this morning. If you notice, we are under a quorum call, but we will go ahead and proceed.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN M. SCHWEBEL, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Would it make sense to put my statement in the record and endeavor to deal with any questions you may have, sir?

Mr. FRASER. If you like, we shall put it in the record. Perhaps you could comment on one or two points just informally, and then we will go to questions.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN M. SCHWEBEL, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

I greatly appreciate the privilege of testifying before this Subcommittee on proposals to limit United States financial contributions to the United Nations. May I note that I speak for myself, as a citizen and heavily taxed taxpayer, and not for the University or any other institution with which I am affiliated.

H.R. 11386 would enact into law the provision that "... the aggregate amount of assessed and voluntary contributions by the United States to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies for any calendar year after 1971 shall not exceed an amount which bears the same ratio to the total budget of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies as the total population of the United States bears to the total population of all the member states of the United Nations."

I oppose this bill, on the ground that it contemplates a course of action which would be illegal, inequitable and unworkable. Permit me to deal with these perceptions in turn.

Insofar as the bill deals with assessed rather than voluntary contributions, it raises questions of international law. Under international law, that is to say, by the terms of treaties to which the United States has freely subscribed and by which it is bound, the United States is obliged to pay the contributions which are assessed upon it. The fact that this Congress might set a limit such as that prescribed in H.R. 11386 would not detract from the legal authority of international organizations of which the United States is a member to set a higher limit. If the United States were not to pay the amount resulting from that higher level of assessment, it would violate international law. As a citizen of the United States concerned with the good faith and good standing of my Government, I would object to the Congress forcing the United States into a position of an international law-breaker. That would promote neither the interests of the United States, which preeminently benefits from upholding the law, nor the interests of the international organizations to whose purposes this Government is devoted.

Let us take the United Nations as the paramount and typical illustration. Article 17 of the United Nations Charter provides that: "The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." As apportioned, it should be noted, not by this Congress or by other national legislatures, but by the General Assembly. Article 17 so provides and further provides that the expenses so apportioned "shall" be borne by the Members. The wording is imperative; the obligation is clear.

Nevertheless, that obligation has been the subject of litigation before the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. In the advisory proceedings on *Certain Expenses of the United Nations*, the Written Statement of the United States Government to the Court stated the following in respect of Article 17 of the Charter:

Article 17(2) provides: "The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." The language of the provision is mandatory: expenses "shall be borne". (Emphasis added.) Accord-



ingly, the General Assembly's adoption and apportionment of the Organization's expenses create a binding international legal obligation on the part of States Members to pay their assessed shares.

The history of the drafting of Article 17(2) demonstrates that it was the design of the authors of the Organization's constitution that the membership be legally bound to pay apportioned expenses. The draft that emerged from the Dumbarton Oaks Conference provided, in Chapter V, Section B, paragraph 5: "The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the Members of the Organization and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organization." Doc. No. I, G/I, 3 U.N. Conf. Int'l Org. Docs. 5 (1945).

It will be noted that the Dumbarton Oaks text did not explicitly state that the expenses "shall be borne" by the membership. Committee II/I of Commission II at the San Francisco Conference corrected this deficiency by approving a revised text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal which ultimately was embodied in Article 17(2): "The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." The summary report of the 15th meeting of that Committee declares: "In taking this action, the Committee considered the view of the Advisory Committee of Jurists that a clear statement of the obligation of Members to meet the expenses of the Organization should be found in the Charter." Doc. No. 1094, II/I/40, 8 U.N. Conf. Int'l Org. Docs. 487 (1945). When, during the debate on the Committee text, the Chairman of the Committee suggested that "allocated" would be a better term than "borne", his suggestion was rejected in express reliance on the opinion of the Jurists. Doc. No. WD 427, CO/191, 17 U.N. Conf. Int'l Org. Docs. 198 (1945). See also Doc. No. WD 431, CO/195, *id.*, at 236, and Doc. No. WD 268, CO/110, *id.*, at 406. Article 17(2) of the Charter is the "clear statement of the obligation of Members to meet the expenses of the Organization" called for by the Advisory Committee of Jurists. *I.C.J. Pleadings, Certain Expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter)* at pages 193-194.

In oral argument before the Court, The Legal Adviser of the Department of State added:

... There is only one article in the Charter dealing with financial obligations of Members, Article 17, paragraph 2. It provides: "The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." It vests in the Organization the power, by resolution of the General Assembly apportioning and assessing expenses, to require Member States to pay charges lawfully incurred. This is the meaning, and the whole meaning, of Article 17. It is the plain meaning of the text; it coincides with the intention of the framers of the Charter evidenced in the preparatory work; it is reinforced by the unbroken practice of the Organization under the Charter. It reflects, as a Committee of Jurists said in construing the parallel article of the League of Nations Covenant, "the general principle, a principle applicable to all associations, that legally incurred expenses of an Association must be borne by all its Members in common". (*Contribution of the State of Salvador to the Expenses of the League*, A. 128, 1922, V, p. 193). *Ibid.*, at pages 413-414.

The Court held:

By Article 17, paragraph 1, the General Assembly is given the power not only to "consider" the budget of the Organization, but also to "approve" it. The decision to "approve" the budget has a close connection with paragraph 2 of Article 17, since thereunder the General Assembly is also given the power to apportion the expenses among the Members and the exercise of the power of apportionment creates the obligation, specifically stated in Article 17, paragraph 2, of each Member to bear that part of the expenses which is apportioned to it by the General Assembly. *Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter)*, *Advisory Opinion of July 20, 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, page 164.*

A similar position obtains in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. Now if the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in fact were to assess the United States on a scale of contributions not exceeding that contained in H.R. 11386, a violation of international law would, strictly speaking, be avoided. But that possibility appears to be profoundly improbable. The United States is now assessed at some thirty-one percent of the budget of the United Nations. The scale of assessment prescribed by H.R. 11386 would result in the United States being assessed—if that scale were to be accepted by other nations—at something between five and ten percent of the budget of the United Nations, probably on the order of six percent. Such a reduction in assessments upon the United States

is inconceivable. It accordingly follows that permitting this Government to pay only on such a scale would inevitably require it to act unlawfully.

H.R. 11386 is as inequitable as it is prospectively illegal. The wealth of the United States is vastly disproportionate to its population. Its capacity to pay is far greater than the number of its people. If the United States were to be assessed simply on the basis of the relative enormity of its gross national product as compared with that of the aggregate of all other Members of the United Nations, it would pay more than thirty-one percent of the Organization's budget. To suggest that it should pay far less is to fly in the face of the facts about the world distribution of wealth and power. One might as reasonably suggest that millionaires and the impoverished should pay equal taxes. We count it a mark of a progressive society that we have progressive taxation—or that we make some attempt, however deficient, to have progressive taxation. It would be regressive in the extreme if the United States were to maintain, still less to require, that its relatively rich population be taxed at the same rate as the relatively and absolutely poor of this world.

H.R. 11386 is not only illegal insofar as it would apply to assessed contributions, and inequitable insofar as it would apply both to assessed and voluntary contributions, but unworkable, and on both counts.

It is unworkable for the reason that it will not be adopted by the organs of international organizations that levy and invite contributions. While there may be some room at some point for reduction in contributions by the United States, especially should the two Germanies be admitted to the United Nations and its Agencies, it cannot be imagined that there will be so much room as to admit a reduction from thirty-one to five to ten percent. Should the United States impose such a draconian limit on its contributions, whether assessed or voluntary, H.R. 11386 will prove unworkable for a further reason: the organizations in question will largely cease working. If the United States were, for example, to pay less than ten percent of the budget of the United Nations in 1972, the Organization—which already is in grave financial difficulty—could not survive, at any rate as an Organization approaching that we have known.

For the foregoing reasons, it is submitted that this Subcommittee should not report favorably on H.R. 11386 or any other bill of like substance.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. As a heavily taxed taxpayer, I oppose the bill on the grounds that it contemplates a course of action which is illegal, inequitable, and unworkable. It would be, if implemented, illegal in respect of assessed contributions only. That is important enough. It would be illegal because, under the charter, as you know, the General Assembly of the United Nations has the authority to assess members and they are legally bound to pay those assessments.

As you will recall, that very question was litigated before the International Court of Justice. The United States took the lead in maintaining that the United States and all other members—the Soviet Union, France, et cetera—were bound to pay the assessments upon them levied by the General Assembly.

Speaking broadly, we won that case. The International Court of Justice rendered an advisory opinion which agreed with that view. In fact, in view of the terms of the charter, the Court hardly could have done otherwise.

Now, if the United States were to adopt this bill and if it were to decline to pay assessments larger than 6 percent, we would be violating international law. We would be violating the charter or treaty to which the United States is a party. That, of itself, would be deplorable. The effects on the U.N. would be disastrous, as Secretary De Palma has pointed out. It would be otherwise if the U.N. would agree to assess us simply on this scale, but there is no practical possibility of that, as Secretary De Palma has also pointed out. In this sense, then, since the prospect of the U.N.'s so agreeing is totally improbable.



The bill contemplates a course of action which would be an illegal one. It would also be inequitable for the reasons that have been submitted to the committee. Clearly our capacity to pay is far greater than that indicated by our population. And it would be unworkable because the United Nations cannot be expected to adopt such a scale. It could not afford it even if it wished. If we impose the scale unlawfully, the United Nations itself would, in substantial measure, cease to work. It would, as Secretary De Palma has stated, be pushed over the financial brink on which it now teeters.

Now, it teeters on that brink not because of American policy, which, I think, in this regard, has been outstanding. Apart from the very serious failure to pay assessments of the ILO, we have paid our dues. We may be behind for a particular year because of the method of the operation of the Congress, but my understanding is that generally speaking we have paid our dues, if a bit late, quite uniformly, with perhaps the exception of imposing a requirement on the U.N. to use certain currencies which are not easily convertible.

Our record, on the whole, is an excellent one. We should maintain that record as long as we keep membership in the U.N. and we should, in my submission, keep membership as long as the U.N. renders substantial service toward the achievement of its purposes and the welfare of the people of the United States. I think it does that.

That is not for a moment to say that the United Nations does not have severe defects. It reflects many disappointments, but we have no better international organization at the moment. The only way to get one is to make the U.N. a better one, and certainly by destroying its financial prospects, we shall not do that.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Schwebel, one of the reasons why these bills are being submitted, I think, is the disenchantment which followed the vote on the China question. It would be helpful to me and perhaps to other Members, if you would give your own views as a specialist in international law with respect to the merits of what took place in the U.N. on the China question and how you view the U.S. position.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to do so.

In my view, the position of the U.S. Government on this issue was correct. I think it would have been in the interests of the United Nations and of the people of China if the island of Taiwan had continued to be represented one way or another; and the only plausible way of achieving that was, in effect, though we didn't so denominate it, to have a two-China policy—one China represented by the Government in Peking, a second China represented by the Government of Taiwan.

One day, as Mr. Kissinger apparently contemplated yesterday in his remarks, those two Governments might unite in a single government. But until those two Governments freely so decide, I think the correct policy is to permit the people on Taiwan to maintain their independence, and retaining representation in the United Nations would have been an important contribution to the achievement of that aim.

So, fundamentally, I think our policy was correct, and I regret that the majority of the General Assembly did not accept that political judgment.

But, in declining to accept the political judgment that was made in Washington, I do not think that the General Assembly's majority acted unlawfully. Perhaps it was inpolitic, but it was not illegal.

The Republic of China, strictly speaking, was not expelled from the United Nations. Rather, a decision was taken that the Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking is the government representative of the State of China, and that the Government on Taiwan is not so representative.

Now, if one looks at the simple facts of which government controls the land area and the people and the resources of what all the world accepts as China, that is not an unreasonable conclusion. It is, of course, true that, under the charter, the expulsion of a state member requires not only a vote of two-thirds but a prior recommendation of the Security Council, and neither was foreseen in this case, though, in fact, the motion disposing of Chinese representation was carried by a two-thirds majority. But it was not a matter viewed by the majority as a question of expulsion of the state member but, as Secretary De Palma has said, of representation of a state already a member.

Now, in the 20 or so years that this issue has been debated in the U.N., it has always been viewed as a question of representation. The United States has always so treated it. The Government of the Republic of China has always so treated it, and so have all other members. To reverse the field at this juncture and treat it not as a question of representation but of, on the other hand, admission of Communist China and, on the other hand, of expulsion of Taiwan is to reverse the field not only late in the game but after the game is over.

We did not argue in the General Assembly this autumn that the question was one of expulsion of a state, and we were right not to argue that. At any rate, it would have been very difficult to argue in view of the history of the case. If, in 1950, this had been argued, and argued all the years subsequently, it would have been an easier case to make out. I won't say there is no basis for the case, but it was not the approach which was fundamentally followed.

Mr. FRASER. Was not the position of the United States complicated by the fact that the Nationalist Government continued to assert the right to exercise authority over all of China?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Absolutely. The Government of the Republic of China, my understanding is, did not treat the question as one of expulsion of a state; rather, it claimed that it was and is the sole government of the State of China and, as such, the only proper representative of the State of China. It accepted the view that the question was and remains one of Chinese representation, but its view is that it is the correct representative and the sole correct representative.

Mr. FRASER. Would not that make it difficult in deciding a representation question—to end up upsetting the boat?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Yes; it was one of the several crosses our policy was obliged to bear, and an even bigger one, Mr. Chairman, I think, was the perception of most U.N. members that Peking would not, in fact, come in if Taiwan remained. This is what Peking had said day and night. I don't know if any of us can know if it is the fact; perhaps Peking does not know it, but, at any rate, this was the policy they had stoutly maintained.



The majority seemed to believe that the policy the United States had proposed would not work for that reason and would require the United Nations to go through still more difficult contortions next year or in a subsequent year. The majority seemed to feel that if Taiwan were accepted, in fact Peking would not take its seat next year or the year after, and that eventually, in the desire to have Peking in the General Assembly, the U.N. would exclude the delegation of Taiwan.

Mr. FRASER. If the U.S. position had prevailed, how many votes would China have cast in the General Assembly?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Well, you put your finger on another complication, because, under the charter, each member of the General Assembly has one vote; article 18 squarely so provides. Therefore, the State of China, the single State of China, could not lawfully have had two votes; that is why I said, at the outset, that our policy, in effect, was a two-China policy, even if we didn't call it that.

We were operating on the assumption, implicit perhaps but actual, that there were two successor states to the single State of China, and each would have one vote in the General Assembly and in other organs of the organization in which they would sit.

Now, we didn't foreclose the possibility that those two states might one day merge into one state again. There are U.N. precedents for a state being succeeded by two successor states, and for two states becoming one state. The latter precedent is illustrated by the merger between Syria and Egypt to constitute the UAR, and then again the seating of Syria without going through the admission process when it broke away from the UAR.

Mr. FRASER. I don't recall this, but did the resolution that was being advanced by the United States provide for separate votes for the two governments?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. It did not expressly do so, but my understanding of its intent would be that each of the Chinese delegations would have had a separate vote, and each would have been treated in the U.N. by the U.N. as representing distinctive entities, though each doubtless would have maintained its claim that each represented the whole of China. It would have been a confused and awkward situation, there is no doubt of it, and this is one of the difficulties our policy bore.

Mr. FRASER. Would not the fact have been at least some measure to have bypassed the regular procedure for the admission of an additional nation?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Yes; it would have been.

Mr. FRASER. Does the General Assembly, for example, have the authority on its own to admit another nation?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. No. A state applying for admission to the U.N., as you rightly suggest by the terms of your question, must be recommended by the Security Council, a recommendation which is subject to the veto, and approved by the General Assembly. Nevertheless, one can fairly make a distinction between the admission of a state never a member and the seating of a successor state that derives from the territory of a state already a member.

Now, on this, the precedents are mixed, and they didn't uniformly help our case. For example, when India was partitioned into India and Pakistan in 1947, India maintained the membership that India, as

an original member of the United Nations, had. Pakistan applied for membership, and was not delighted to do that; it would have preferred to just be seated; but the Secretary-General took the position—and it was a position of some controversy—that Pakistan should apply for membership as a new state, and it did.

Now, that precedent ran counter to our Chinese position. On the other hand, there were precedents that were more helpful, such as the Syrian one I stated a moment ago.

Mr. FRASER. Syria had not been a member prior to the merger?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Syria had been a member in its own right, so it was not a square precedent; it was of some help, but it was not as helpful as it might have been. There was no doubt that, on the law of the matter, we had an uphill fight, and that is one of the reasons we lost, because the question had been argued over the years in terms of representation; and neither China wanted two Chinas.

It was legally and politically a difficult case, and we failed to carry it not through any want of effort but, I think, essentially not only because of these legal disabilities but because of the perception on the part of the majority that the U.S. formula would not do what they wanted to do, which was to get Peking in. Now, they may have been wrong on that, but we will never know.

Mr. FRASER. One of the results of the position taken by the United States, of course, was to assert to the domestic public the rightness of its position, the fact that there were substantial legal problems, and, as you put it, it was legally an uphill battle for the United States.

There was no way for the people of the United States really to understand that and we paid a fairly high price in terms of ongoing support for the United Nations. In your opinion, is the price worth the battle we have fought?

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Well, I share with you, sir, concern about the public reaction, and I would not say that I am altogether happy with the way in which the vote in the United Nations was played, so to speak, by those having official responsibility. For example there was some loose usage of the term "expulsion" which fed the theory that, in fact, there had been an unlawful expulsion, which did not go through the Security Council.

But I would not go so far as to say that we should never have made an effort to keep Taiwan in. I think it was basically a sensible political judgment, sensible because it is a real loss to the possibilities of Taiwan's maintaining its independence to have been excluded from the U.N.

Over the long pull, in my view, it is going to be much more difficult than otherwise. I think we will see fewer and fewer states maintaining diplomatic relations with Taiwan. We shall hear the Peking delegation in New York chanting day and night that there is only one China, that the U.N. has recognized this, and that Taiwan exists independently only by reason of the intervention of U.S. military and naval power.

I think this argument will have increasing appeal, even in the United States. But I do think that the 14 million people on Taiwan should be able to remain free of Communist rule if they so wish.

So I think the fight was worth making, and I regret we lost it.



Mr. FRASER. Let me just pursue that. Now that the United Nations has determined that there is only one Government of China and that is the Peking Government, Taiwan is left, it seems to me, in a kind of a hiatus; from the Peking point of view, this is part of China, but clearly Peking does not control Taiwan.

It would seem to me that what this may do is to force a new basis for the legitimacy of the Government on Taiwan; that is, their legitimacy before was founded on what was increasingly a fiction, an increasingly transparent fiction in which the people of Taiwan were essentially denied representation in the government. Now, it would seem to me that with this fiction having been, in effect, destroyed by the action of an international body, that there would have to be generated on Taiwan a new basis for legitimacy, that in that process the people of Taiwan may be brought into the political workings of the government. On those grounds and hopefully with the continuation of the mutual security agreement which offers the best prospects for an independent Taiwan—assuming that is what the people want—this process of legitimizing the Government of Taiwan might be speeded up, whereas under a two-China solution, it might have been deferred a considerable length of time.

This is all speculative I realize. I guess your view is that the Taiwanese should have the right to decide their own future, in effect, free of Peking.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Exactly.

Mr. FRASER. That is my view, too, and that the outcome of the U.S. action may have facilitated that.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Well, sir, I am really not sure. I have my doubts that it will facilitate it, but we will see.

Mr. FRASER. That is, the disappearance of representation from nations other than Taiwan, it seems to me, was not dependent so much on U.N. action as the leverage that is being exerted by Peking against countries which sought to establish diplomatic relations with Peking. Therefore, the process of isolation, if it does continue on, won't seem so much a result of the U.N. action as from Peking's leverage.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. That may well be. I think the U.N. action, though, is a contribution to the trend away from relations with Taiwan, and I would not underestimate the impact that the views of Peking in New York may have over the longer pull.

Mr. FRASER. Well, I guess we are now speculating about the future, and I recognize the difficulty of pinning it down.

Well, I want to thank you very much for a very helpful statement on this China question and your statement on the proposals to reduce the assessed and voluntary contributions by the United States. I don't have any questions on your statement, because I am largely in agreement with it.

So again I want to thank you very much. You have been very helpful, and I hope we can get some of our colleagues to read the discussions we have provided on the China question, because it seems to me that the reaction to the China vote was not justified, particularly in light of the fact that none of our NATO allies ended up supporting us. For some reason, people don't seem to give any weight to that.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Mr. Chairman, may I make one comment on the issue before us stimulated by the argument which Congressman Sikes

was good enough to make at the outset of the hearings on the subject. If I recall correctly, he maintained that adoption and implementation of this bill would not be unlawful because of the fact that there is now a law on the books which instructs representatives of the United States not to vote for contributions in excess of a percentage of an assessment, and his view was that if they could not vote for more than 33 percent, or whatever that provision is, equally, they could be required not to vote for more than 6 percent and that, therefore, there was nothing illegal about his proposal and that which his distinguished colleagues make.

May I respectfully say that I disagree with that legal conclusion. Enactment of a law which instructs U.S. representatives or which invites the Executive to instruct U. S. representatives not to vote for a measure does not impair the authority of an international organization to adopt a measure.

There seems to be a confusion between what American representatives vote for and what is binding on the Government of the United States. The United Nations, at this current session of the General Assembly and any other, can adopt a budget, the United States may vote against the budget, nevertheless it is adopted and binding.

My impression is, in fact, that last year at the General Assembly, the United States did not vote in favor of the budget because it had certain increases that the United States judged were unmerited. Nevertheless, we have been bound to pay our assessments under that budget. If American representatives never voted for an assessment of more than 6 percent and the assessments were 31 or 25 percent we would still be bound by law to pay the 31 or 25.

In sum, my argument is that that law now on the books and any other such law would simply be irrelevant to the United States' legal obligation; it does not for a moment prove that enactment of this proposed law would lead to a legal situation. On the contrary, in fact, I think it must lead to an illegal situation in view of the fact that it cannot be expected that the U.N. or other international organizations would assess us on a level proportionate to our population.

Mr. FRASER. Well, I am glad to have that point developed, because it does seem to me that there is a significant difference between the law and the wording of the proposed bill.

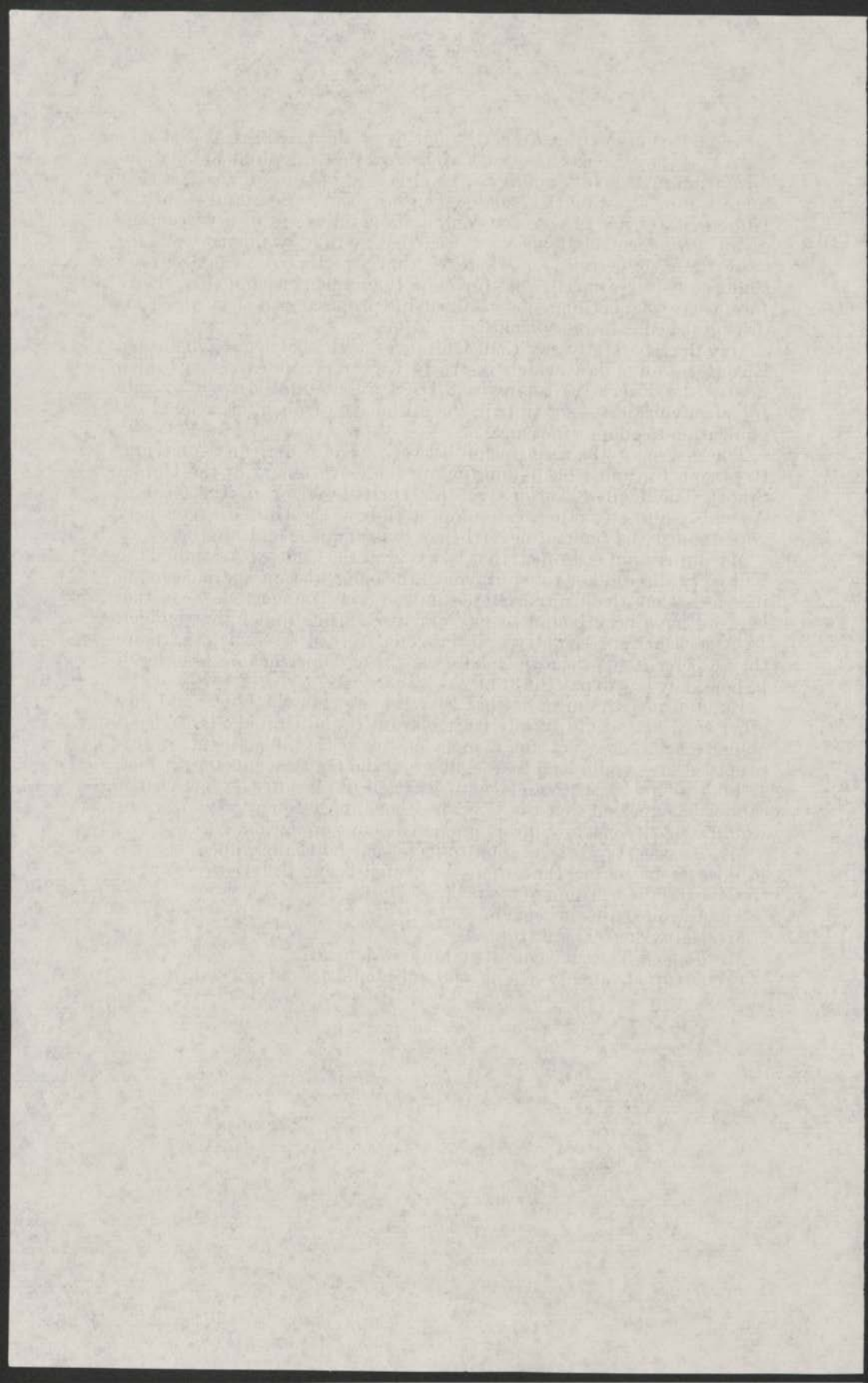
Thank you again very much.

Mr. SCHWEBEL. Thank you.

Mr. FRASER. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:38 a.m. the subcommittee adjourned.)





## STATEMENTS AND MEMORANDA SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

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STATEMENT OF HON. W. M. ABBITT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE  
STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity of testifying in support of H.R. 11518 of which I am a co-sponsor. This bill would provide for United States financial contributions to the UN and related agencies to be based on the ratio of this country's population to the population of all member states.

Since the inception of the United Nations in 1945, the United States has borne the major responsibility for the financial support of the UN. In the beginning, we did this in order to get the organization started and as time went on, we assumed more and more by way of responsibility for various aspects of the operation.

While this procedure may have had some merit in the beginning when the organization was getting on its feet, it is totally unrealistic today when the UN membership is much larger. Today we are furnishing approximately 36% of the UN budget whereas under the provisions of H.R. 11518 this would be lowered to approximately 6%.

Such action is long overdue not only from the standpoint of reducing the United States burden of responsibility but also in making the other members of the UN more responsible for its upkeep. We face the situation in the UN today which is vastly different from that which welcomed UN members at the organization in 1945. Not only is the membership greatly enlarged but our own position within the UN has changed substantially. Many of our people are greatly concerned about the fact that our influence within the UN has substantially lessened while we continue to pay the lion's share of its support. In addition to this, the fact is that many nations which are financially able to assume their responsibility are in arrears on their dues and little or nothing is done about this. It is high time that the UN come to grips with this matter and the only way that I know to bring this about is to make it abundantly clear that the United States does not intend to forever carry the major portion of the load, especially in view of the attitude of other members in regard to their obligation.

I trust that the subcommittee will give serious consideration to this proposal and that the Congress will be given the opportunity of expressing itself on this issue.

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STATEMENT OF HON. TOM BEVILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE  
STATE OF ALABAMA

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Members of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, I want to thank you for giving me this opportunity to express my position on pending legislation to limit United States financial contributions to the United Nations.

The recent vote by the General Assembly of the United Nations to seat Red China and expel Taiwan has, at long last, made the leaders of this nation stop and take a good, hard look at this organization and the value of our participation in it.

While we have continued to pour money into the U.N. for the last 25 years, many other member nations have refused to pay their share and in fact have laughed at and mocked our naive generosity.

I know that I speak for a majority of the people of Alabama when I say the time has come for the United States to stop playing Santa Claus to the



world, pay only its fair share, and insist that every other member nation do likewise.

Over the years the United States has been the backbone of the United Nations, contributing about six times as much as the Soviet Union or the United Kingdom, the two next highest contributors.

We all know this money is desperately needed to meet some of our pressing domestic problems.

Mr. Chairman, I am co-sponsor of H.R. 11518, a bill which would provide for U.S. financial contributions to the United Nations and related agencies to be based on the ratio of U.S. population to the population of all member nations.

It is my understanding that if this legislation becomes law, it would lower the United States' contribution from its present 36 percent to 5.9 percent, for a savings to the U.S. taxpayers of more than \$250,000,000.

I believe that if we decide to stay in the U.N., we should immediately reduce our financial assistance to this amount. If this organization is to constitute a force for world peace, all nations must contribute their fair share.

We must stop pouring money into an organization which provides our enemies an open forum to denounce us.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully urge approval of this legislation, Thank you.

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STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman, I greatly appreciate having this opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements in behalf of H.R. 11480. This bill, of which I am a cosponsor, was introduced on October 28th, soon after the United Nations organization had voted to expel the legitimate government of China from membership.

On the resolution to expel Free China from the organization and seat Communist China in its place, 76 votes were cast in favor and 35 in opposition. There were 17 abstentions and three absences.

All but three of the nations that voted for the resolution of expulsion have been passengers on the foreign aid gravy train which the United States has been operating for more than a quarter of a century. All but three of the nations that abstained from voting have received foreign aid from the United States.

The 76 nations that voted for expulsion of our long-time ally received a total of \$61,205,800,000 in foreign aid during the fiscal years from 1946 through 1971. As we had to borrow this huge sum before we could make it available to foreign nations, it becomes necessary to add interest totaling \$32,904,238,000, making the true total \$94,110,038,000.

The 14 foreign aid recipients that abstained on the vote received a total of \$11,278,900,000 during the 26-year period, plus \$6,063,538,000 for interest, or \$17,342,438,000 altogether.

Out of 131 members in the United Nations organization, 76 opposed us on this crucial vote and 17 others took the easy way out by abstaining. These 93 nations have received a total of \$72,484,700,000 in foreign aid from the United States since World War II. With interest totaling \$38,967,776,000 added on, the grand total lavished on these ingrates comes to \$111,452,476,000.

While a comparatively small amount of foreign aid can be justified, it is obvious that neither the House of Representatives nor the other body is going to keep the numerous foreign aid programs funded at the current annual level of over \$13½-billion. This tremendous sum will be reduced through the cutting of authorizations and appropriations in a number of different bills. At the moment, however, we are concerned with but one phase, the contributions of the United States to the United Nations organization and its affiliated agencies.

Mr. Chairman, the total population of the 131 members presently represented in the organization is 3,366,768,000. The population of the United States is 204,766,000, or 6.08% of the total. Before the expulsion of Free China and the admission of Red China and five mini-states, the population of the United States was about 7% of the total population of the 126 members.

In spite of the fact that its population was only about one-thirteenth of the total, the United States' assessment for 1969 was nearly one-third of the total

assessment. Assessments for that year totaled \$143,467,267, of which our share was \$45,220,264, or 31.5%. This was four times as much as it ought to have been.

When we look at some of the affiliates we discover some even greater disparities. For example, the United States contributed \$12,000,000 to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund during 1969, which was 39.0% of the \$30,736,605 total.

During the same year, the United States gave \$71,000,000 to the United Nations Development Program, 35.8% of the \$198,574,980 total.

In 1968 the United States gave \$8,749,722 to the Food and Agricultural Organization, or 31.9% of the \$27,420,000 total.

Also in 1968, this country gave \$18,075,620 to the World Health Organization, or 31.2% of the \$57,934,680 total.

During 1968 the United States gave \$9,011,940 to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. This was 29.9% of the \$30,100,000 total.

The United States contributed \$6,209,022 to the International Labor Organization in 1968, or 25.0% of the \$24,836,091 total.

Some members failed to give to one or more of the programs that I have mentioned, while several nonmembers, for example, West Germany, South Korea, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Vatican City, and South Vietnam, made contributions.

The monumental absurdity of the whole United Nations fiscal setup can be eloquently demonstrated by using Qatar as an example. This nation, for the most part unknown to anyone but philatelists and members of the oil industry, is about the size of Massachusetts and has a population of 100,000. There are 150 cities in the United States with that many people, yet this tiny country, which joined the United Nations organization just in time to vote on the Chinese question, can kill the vote of the United States. By collaborating with another Johnny-come-lately member, Bahrain, which contains 250 square miles and has 207,000 population, Qatar can outvote the United States, the chief bankroller of the United Nations.

With a public debt already exceeding \$400,000,000,000 and due to increase during the current fiscal year, the United States is not in a position to continue providing such grotesquely disproportionate sums of the United Nations organization and its affiliates as it has given in the past. The American taxpayers are overburdened with local, state, and federal taxes and should not be saddled with additional financial burdens that have resulted from the failure of other countries to assume and pay their fair shares.

By reducing the amount of our assessed and voluntary contributions to approximately 6%, we will decrease our expenditures for the United Nations and its affiliates by between 75% and 85%. Once the freeloaders and the deadbeats begin getting bills for larger amounts, they will take a second look at some of the programs and the accompanying price tags. A nation that casually votes for an expensive program for which the United States will assume between one-fourth and one-third of the financial responsibility will wait a long time before voting for such a program if its own share of the cost outweighs the benefits that it receives.

As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, I am painfully aware of the serious financial crisis with which our nation is confronted. Other committees authorize expensive programs that cost billions of dollars of taxpayers' money, but it is the Committee on Ways and Means that must write legislation that will provide the wherewithal to pay for them.

If the people of the United States, acting through their duly-chosen representatives on the local, state, and national levels, want to pay for expensive governmental programs, it is difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the establishment and funding of such programs. It is a simple matter, however, to prevent foreign countries from placing heavy and disproportionate financial burdens on the aching backs of American taxpayers. Simply pass H.R. 11480 and our share of the cost will drop to about 6%.

Mr. Chairman, thank you once again for permitting me to testify in behalf of this very necessary legislation. I hope the Committee on Foreign Affairs will report this measure or a similar one to the House at the earliest possible opportunity, so that it and the other body can act on it before the Congress adjourns for the year.



STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to testify in support of legislation to limit United States contributions to the United Nations.

On October 7th of this year, Oman, formerly known as the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, became the one-hundred thirty-first member of the United Nations. Its population is 750,000.

The average population of the 131 member nations is approximately 20 million. Excluding the eight largest nations—India, Soviet Russia, United States, Pakistan, Indonesia, Japan, Brazil, and now, Communist China—the average population is somewhere in the neighborhood of nine million.

I'm going to cite some interesting statistics which relate my home state of Alabama to the general make-up of the United Nations. In Alabama, after re-districting, the perfect population will be 492,023 for each of our State's Congressional Districts. This means that our average congressional district will be larger in population than 11 countries in the U.N. Jefferson County is larger in its population than 15 countries. In fact, the State of Alabama has more people than do 49 members of the United Nations! Yet each nation, regardless of size, has the same vote. For instance:

*Five newest members of the United Nations*

	Population
Oman (admitted Oct. 7, 1971)-----	750,000
Bahrain (admitted Sept. 21, 1971)-----	207,000
Bhutan (admitted Sept. 21, 1971)-----	800,000
Qatar (admitted Sept. 21, 1971)-----	100,000
Fiji (admitted Oct. 13, 1970)-----	519,000

Total -----	2,376,000
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Alabama's population-----	3,444,165
5 newest members-----	2,376,000

Difference -----	1,068,165
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*Eight smallest members of the United Nations*

	Population
Qatar -----	100,000
Maldiv Islands-----	104,000
Iceland -----	203,000
Bahrain -----	207,000
Barbados -----	260,000
Equatorial Guinea-----	286,000
Malta -----	318,000
Luxembourg -----	337,000

Total -----	1,815,400
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Alabama's population-----	3,444,165
8 smallest members-----	1,815,400

Difference -----	1,628,765
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There are two nations—Qatar, an Arab Sheikdom with 100,000 people—and the Maldiv Islands, with a population of 104,000, which have double the voting strength in the U.N. General Assembly of the United States of America. Both Qatar and the Maldiv Islands are considerably smaller than the population of the City of Montgomery, Alabama.

In March, I said in a weekly newspaper column: "If we are to remain in the United Nations, we should demand, first and foremost, that all member nations be allocated votes in direct relation to population and financial support. Secondly, only those members current with their dues should be allowed the privileges of the membership such as voting, participating in debate, etc. For the United States, paying the bills is virtually our only 'privilege'."

With this information in hand, let's get down to the crux of the morally and financially bankrupt institution known as the United Nations.

To say that I was "shocked," "dismayed," or "disgusted" at Free China's expulsion from the U.N. would be an understatement. The result of the vote was shameful.

On the other hand, however, I can truthfully say that my good friend and former colleague in the House, Ambassador George Bush, fought for American principles with all of his energies. For his, as well as the other American representatives' actions, I have only one reaction—Pride! They fought against overwhelming odds, if I may, against a stacked deck.

Before the vote came, I wondered: "How much of its moral, legal, and fiscal integrity is the United Nations willing to sacrifice in order to admit Communist China to membership? Now we know. . . .

It is not the admission of Red China that brought about the shocker. The Communist giant with its 800 million people—give or take 50 million—could not indefinitely be denied a voice in world affairs. What bothers and disgusts me is the way the U.N. betrayed its ideals and broke its own rules to make the seating of Peking possible.

Throughout, Peking stubbornly refused to accept a seat as long as the Taiwan government of Chiang Kai-shek was a U.N. member claiming to represent all of China. Chiang insisted on his claim—so something had to give.

What gave were the ethics of the majority of nations in the world organization. Bowing to the stubbornness and potential power of Red China, and making no attempt to achieve a compromise, they gave the heave-ho to Chiang's Republic of China—a founding member of the U.N. which had always served the organization faithfully and well.

They resorted to this action by cynically overriding provisions of the U.N. Charter in a manner which not too many people appreciate.

Did you know that the General Assembly, under the U.N. Charter, can agree to admit a member only on recommendation of the Security Council? And that this rule was blatantly ignored because Taiwan, then a member of the Security Council, unquestionably would have vetoed the idea.

Did you know that, under the U.N. Charter, a member can be thrown out only if it has "persistently violated" the Charter principles—and that no such charges were even raised against Nationalist China?

And did you know that, under Article 18 of the Charter, it is stated categorically that any expulsion automatically requires a two-thirds vote as an "important question"—that the United States therefore should never have had to battle for such a vote?

I didn't know and maybe you didn't—but the delegates did, and they ignored their own laws of operation as an instrument of presumed justice and world harmony. They did it cruelly, unethically, illegally, and with dancing in the aisles when the United States lost its showdown vote.

We lost the "important question" resolution by only four votes. What hurt was to find such nations as Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, and Sweden denying the Republic of China membership. Those countries mentioned voted against us, as did most of the 42 member countries in Africa, which is where most of the emerging new nations are located. At least Austria, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey had the decency to abstain on the "important question" resolution before switching sides on the substantive resolution after the game had been lost.

It is sickening to consider the fact that our loss was the result of a double-cross from those nations which had promised to help us in our support of Taiwan. Nations we have saved in wars, have protected and helped financially in peace, openly showed their delight in helping to slap us in the face when they double-crossed us on the vote or spinelessly abstained from voting.

Altogether, 54 of the countries which participated in the voting are recipients of U.S. handouts. This may give us fresh insight into the old truism that Good Samaritans are rewarded only in Heaven, that never a good deed goes unpunished, or as Shakespeare has Polonius saying in *Hamlet*: "Neither a borrower, nor a lender be; for loan oft loses both itself and friend."

It seems that the delegates who voted against the United States resolution to make expulsion an "important question" took full leave of their propriety and sense of fairness. This double standard, unfortunately, permeates the organiza-



tion. For the first time in its 26-year history, the United Nations voted to oust a nation, a nation which represents 14 million free people. Certainly, an extremely dangerous precedent has been set. A precedent which will, in my opinion, return to haunt the U.N. Lord Palmerston, who lived from 1784 to 1865, said it years ago: "England has no permanent friends. She has only permanent interests." History has a way of preserving the truth.

The "important question" vote, as well as the financial inequities placed on the United States by the U.N., is all too characteristic of U.N. policy. Therefore, I felt it necessary to introduce legislation which will limit U.S. contributions to the U.N. The United States of America has been more than generous in support of U.N. activities, even in the face of affronts to American principles. The United States is contributing more than \$321 million to this year's activities—more than one-third of the entire U.N. budget. If they choose to pay at all, the remaining 130 member nations make up the balance.

Of the 59 United Nations members which voted to expel the Republic of China on the "important question," 51, yes, *fifty-one*, have received U.S. foreign aid. They received \$47,617,000,000. That's forty-seven billion, six-hundred-seventeen million dollars.

It is also interesting to note that the U.N. is \$233 million behind in dues collection and other assessments from its members. The Soviet Union owes nearly \$114.5 million, and the rest of the Communist bloc owes the U.N. another \$31 million—meaning that the world Communist front owes nearly \$150 million to the organization which just voted to accept another huge Communist country. Is it realistic to have one nation—the U.S.—paying a third of the costs of a body that supposedly represents all the nations of the world, and allots each member equal voting rights?

I believe this legislation will hit the U.N. with a reality it has overlooked. America is not going to be a patsy for this international body of Communist propaganda. In other words, we are giving notice to the United Nations that Uncle Sam is sick and tired of being "Uncle Sugar." If such a bill become law, the U.S. will, in the future, pay only its fair share of dues, bearing the same ratio to the total budget of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies as the total population of the United States bears to the total population of all the member states of the United Nations. In effect, this would lower U.S. contribution from its present 33 percent to an equitable 5.9 percent or a savings to the American taxpayer of more than 250 million dollars. There is no reason why we should continue to be intimidated by U.N. policy.

After all, one of the most basic flaws in the United Nations is its pompous misnomer, together with the phoney concept that its name implies.

There is no real unity in that glass-faced Tower of Babel on New York's East River because the Communist members have only one underlying aim—the ultimate domination of all free nations.

Communism is a kind of ruthless religion in which compromise of any sort is—at most—only temporary. Since freedom means the right to take varying views, non-Communist nations are automatically incompatible.

So there is indeed an enormous, built-in advantage here for the forces which seek to destroy democracy. I don't know how, if ever, freedom and communism can bridge the chasm between them, but it won't be through the U.N. in our lifetime.

I have never had much, if any, confidence in the United Nations. My reaction initially—and I believe the reaction of most Alabamians—was: well, it would be our gain if the U.N. were to break away from the tip of Manhattan—slip into the East River—and sink. I also thought, perhaps facetiously, that we ought to pull out, lock, stock, and barrel, just pick up our checkbook and go home.

This was my emotional reaction. A rational reaction tells me that the U.N., despite its many shortcomings and abuses, still embodies an ideal of all mankind—the hope that somehow all the nations of the world may yet be able to get together in peaceful co-existence.

Right now, the ideal of a United Nations is far from realization, notably in the U.N. itself. Yet, the glass-faced edifice on the East River is still the tangible symbol that the hope persists—and it must be supported despite its flaws for that reason.

We cannot pull out of the U.N. To do so would be a small-minded and vindictive as the recent debacle at the U.N. We must continue to work for justice and harmony, however bitter the occasional fruits.

All the same, there is no reason why this country should have to continue paying its disproportionate share of the financial tab. A realignment must come—it is certainly long overdue.

What is overdue more than anything else is a change in the notion that the U.N.—either now or in the foreseeable future—can remotely become a true entity of nations.

It ought to be called something like the World Forum, which is all it basically is, anyway, and stripped of all its pretension to authority and punitive powers.

Every viable nation in the world, from Taiwan to Rhodesia, should automatically be entitled to membership and the right to air their gripes, troubles, and opinions.

Get rid of the idea that the U.N. has any kind of police authority.

Get rid of the structure which makes it an arena for power plays and double-crosses.

Let the U.N. face up to the fact that its most useful function should be as an international steam valve—and nothing else.

What we would have then would be a whole lot better than what we've got now.

Finally, the nations—large and small—that perpetrated the melancholy affair will do well to ponder how their actions will alter the attitude of the United States, to which many of them are indebted for their mere existence.

For more than a quarter of a century, the United States has provided the strength, enlightenment, and treasure that has contained communistic imperialism. By great sacrifice, including the blood of her young manhood, the United States has made it possible for millions of people to choose their own way of life. No other nation in the world today can replace the United States' role, a fact which should bring sobriety to many a capital.

It is time we realize what other nations have known for centuries. We have no national friends—only national interests—and this fact should dictate where, how much and with whom we spend or give our money.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge this committee to report a bill to the House of Representatives which will limit our contributions to the United Nations.

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STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES A. HALEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, with the same placating attitude which allowed Russia three votes rather than one as they should have received at the time of the founding of the United Nations, the United States has continually condoned a formula for the U.N.'s assessment of member nations on the "ability to pay" principle which has caused this nation to be billed the lion's share of the cost of an organization which has 131 individual member nations. This formula for assessment should be changed, I believe, and replaced with the formula based on population as proposed in H.R. 11480 which I have co-sponsored.

Not only is it unhealthy for the U.N. to be so dependent on contributions of any one member nation, as it now is, but also such reliance on funds from the U.S. makes a mockery of the principle upon which the U.N. was founded—that of the sovereign equality of all nations.

When the U.N. was just getting established, after World War II, there is no doubt that the U.S. was in a better position to pay a larger share of the budget than some of the other nations of the world which were then trying to recuperate from the enormous drain the war had imposed on their economies. But, today things have changed. Nations which were virtually bankrupt at the end of the war are among the most prosperous nations of the world now, yet the U.S. share of contributions to the U.N. has been decreased over the years to only 31.52 percent.

Personally, my opinion of the U.N. has been very low over the years based on the lack of that organization to be able to keep peace in the world. Although I realize some good has been performed by certain agencies of the U.N. and chances are more likely than not the U.S. will remain a member of that world body, there is no denying that the U.N. has not fulfilled even limited expectations of what its role should be in preserving the peace in this world. Something needs to be done soon to help that body become effective if the United States is



going to remain a member. The bill H.R. 11480 and similar bills would contribute significantly to this effort and I respectfully urge you to report favorably on this legislation.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN E. HUNT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE  
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to present a statement for the record in support of H.R. 11480 and other bills whose purpose is to limit U.S. financial contributions to the United Nations. Specifically, H.R. 11480, of which I am a co-sponsor, would effect a reduction in U.S. contributions by a formula requiring that payments be made in the same proportion as the population of the U.S. bears to the total population of the member nations. Of course, the U.S. cannot impose this formula upon other member nations, but it is obvious that the large majority of the other nations, especially those that are in arrears, would have to increase their contributions to a more equitable level. The gross inequity of U.N. financing to date is borne out by the fact that from the inception of the U.N. in 1946 through 1970, the U.S. share of the total of \$9.2 billion spent by the U.N. and related agencies has been \$3.8 billion or 41 percent.

It is evident to me and, I believe, to the large majority of Americans everywhere, that the United Nations has deteriorated to the point of being little more than a forum for our adversaries to carry on a campaign of international propaganda and a base from which these nations have been able to pursue their intelligence activities from within our own borders, virtually immune from U.S. laws. On the latter point, I would note that less than two weeks ago, the head of the advance party for Peking's U.N. delegation, Kao Liang, was identified as a leading Chinese intelligence agent.

Despite the beating the U.S. took as the leader of the effort to keep Nationalist China in the U.N. while conceding admission to Red China, the President, Administration officials, and leaders of Congress vowed to abide by the decision of the U.N. majority while at the same time vigorously protesting the action. If these protests—based on the grounds that the precedent-setting expulsion motion by a simple majority vote could imperil the future stability of the U.N.—are to be something more than empty rhetoric for face-saving public consumption, and if the U.N. is to become a truly effective international forum for settling rather than perpetuating conflicts, then something will have to be done to instill in the member nations the seriousness of the task and the responsibilities each must bear to justify confidence in its mission.

In my estimation, adoption of the legislation to limit U.S. financial contributions would serve two very useful and necessary purposes. First, it would serve notice to member nations that the rather casual attitude of certain nations which are now going along for the "free ride" is inconsistent with the mission of the U.N. under its Charter. Secondly, this contribution-limiting action would keep faith with the American people by demonstrating, for the first time, the serious intent of the Government to make the U.N. a more effective international peace-keeping organization. Without this action, which is perhaps the only leverage the U.S. has in this situation, the U.N. does not deserve the confidence and support of the American people nor is the continued participation of the U.S. justified. If it is felt that the U.N., as it presently exists, is the indispensable hope for world peace, one need only look around the world at the number of unresolved conflicts involving armed combat.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation before this subcommittee can serve as a transition to a more effective peace-keeping forum as was intended. Failure to make such a move will surely result in a continuing decline of public confidence in the U.N. as well as a loss of respect for the U.S. It can certainly not be said to be in our national interest to continue to exercise paternalistic forbearance in the face of coalitions of nations manifesting allegiance to our ideological adversaries.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT PRICE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE  
STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Subcommittee, I appreciate this opportunity to express my strong support for the bill H.R. 11344, to limit United States financial contributions to the United Nations.

To skip the superlatives and get straight down to the heart of the problem, the simple fact is that the United Nations during its twenty-five year history has been virtually powerless in its assigned role of maintaining world peace. Yes, we have heard the ringing rhetoric of praise by those who have lauded the United Nations for its role as a world debating forum and for its lofty commission as "mankind's last chance for peace." But when an organization is completely debilitated and deprived of the means to discharge its awesome responsibilities, as was carefully and deliberately engineered by the Great Powers at the San Francisco Conference some twenty-five years ago, the exercises, machinations, and undulations that have since transpired within the halls of the UN are as Shakespeare said, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

We have often been chastized about the necessity of living up to our "commitment" to the United Nations, and yet over the years this Nation, which has footed over one-third of the total UN budget and has been a "model prisoner" in observing UN policies steeped in hypocrisy and decisively injurious to our own national best interests, has for all its generosity bought very little peace and few friends via the United Nations.

By contrast, the U.S.S.R., which has never let the UN stand in the way of its program of world revolution and subversion, has effectively exercised its Security Council veto at least 105 times since 1946 (by contrast, the U.S. has used the veto once in the same period), has withheld payment of its assessed dues to further cripple the UN's operating capacity, and has flatly ignored UN policies which run counter to its self-interests.

In another instance, while the United States faithfully and foolishly obeys the UN sanctions program against the tiny and innocuous nation of Rhodesia, placing us in the ridiculous position of boycotting the purchase of strategic chromium ore from American-owned chromium mines there and instead forcing us to buy chrome from the anti-libertarian, dictatorial, and anti-American U.S.S.R., the only other available major world source, other pious UN members including the U.S.S.R., are reportedly carrying on a lucrative under-the-table trade with Rhodesia. Even the black African nation of Zambia, which has been most out-spoken in its denunciation of the "racist" Rhodesian government, is carrying on a brisk trade with her southern neighbor.

Our Nation has rather naively turned to the U.N. for the peaceful resolution of burning world issues, knowing fully well that organization's penchant for delving into the insignificant and ignoring the most pressing problems. In measuring our commitment to the U.N., I must ask how much support have we received from the world organization in our efforts to arrest bare-faced Communist aggression in Vietnam? It is not the United Nations, but "Uncle Sap" and a few trustworthy allies who have done the fighting, the sacrificing, and the dying to prevent another expansion of the Iron Curtain. Of course there are many these days who even deny there is a Communist threat, but then they speak smugly from their position of security behind the American umbrella of protection. But as President Nixon has said, if anyone doubts the existence of the "domino theory," he should simply talk with one of the dominoes.

The term "commitment" is basically synonymous with the term "responsibility." If the United States has a commitment or responsibility to the United Nations, the United Nations has a commitment or responsibility to protect and preserve world peace. But I ask, where was the United Nations when Russians tanks rolled down the streets of Budapest and more recently, Prague? Where was the United Nations when China invaded Tibet and more recently the border areas of India? Where was the United Nations when the critical Arab-Israeli War broke out in 1967? And what was the U.N. reaction to terrorist attacks against Rhodesia



being fomented and launched from neighboring Zambia? The reaction was about as logical as could be expected—Rhodesia was branded "a threat to world peace," and the United Nations lined up behind the forces of violence who pledged that the Zambezi River "should run red with the blood of the white man."

Of course, the list goes on and on, but I believe the point is made. The United Nations has, as Vice President Agnew recently pointed out, become little more than a soundboard for the left.

And while the U.N. has been effectively neutralized over the years by the recalcitrant attitude of the U.S.S.R., we must wonder what chance the U.N. has to be effective now that Red China has been added to the membership, including its seat on the vital Security Council? How can the United States maintain faith in the United Nations after it has expelled the Republic of China, a law-abiding charter member, and admitted in its place a brutal renegade government which has systematically liquidated over 17 million of its own people? Such an act by the U.N. membership can only indicate that the United Nations Charter, which limits membership to "peace-loving states," has become a complete mockery and that the U.N. has sunk into utter moral bankruptcy.

There are those who have argued, it is better to admit Red China to the U.N. because it is better to talk than to fight—but have we forgotten that the Japanese diplomats were politely talking with us in Washington, D.C. at the very time they were planning the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor?

Furthermore, it has been said that as a member of the United Nations, Communist China would be more accountable to world opinion than as an outcast; but since when has U.N. membership ever deterred the Russians in the aggressive behavior toward Eastern Europe, the Mideast, Africa, or even the United States? Red China has already shown its complete disregard for world opinion when, following the action of Great Britain to extend diplomatic recognition, it confiscated British property without compensation, demanded millions of dollars in blackmail for exit visas for British subjects, and threw many into jail without trial. And since Red China has acquired UN membership without the necessity of making any prior concessions, what incentive is there now for the Chinese to change their conduct? In fact, on November 16 we got our first taste of things to come when Red China joined with 105 other UN members to criticize the Congress of the United States for ending our absurd boycott of American-mined chromium ore from Rhodesia. Wrapping themselves in the robe of piety, the Red Chinese, who are no more interested in world peace than the proverbial man-in-the-moon joined in castigating the United States for violating our treaty obligations. What better case can there be for reducing the American commitment to an organization where we pay 40% of the costs and have less than 1% of the voting power? Even the U.S.S.R. has three votes to our one, and in this latest example of world hypocrisy, only two nations, South Africa and Portugal, defended the position of the United States on this issue affecting our national security.

Mr. Chairman, I feel one additional point needs to be stressed on behalf of reducing our financial commitment to the United Nations. I believe I speak for 99% of the American people in raising strong objection to giving any aid to the Communists, who have been directly responsible for the deaths of thousands of American servicemen in Korea and Vietnam, and whose aggression around the world has placed a heavy defense burden upon our taxpayers. And yet, Peking as a member of the United Nations, now joins the ranks with Cuba, Poland, Albania, and all of the other Communist dictatorships which are eligible for loans and grants of the U.N. specialized agencies, which as we know are subsidized in large part by American taxpayers.

Mr. Chairman, if the United Nations serves any purpose to the United States at all, it is that of providing a forum for discussing world issues. To believe that it can or will do any more than that is at best a naive position and a miscalculation which this Nation can no longer afford. The American people are a generous people, as evidenced by our unprecedented foreign aid program since World War II; and they are a determined people, willing to sacrifice and meet their obligations to others. But the American people are not patient—they like many of us in the Congress are tired of all the unkept pie-in-the-sky schemes and plans for "world peace," and will no longer tolerate playing the role of "soft

touch" to the rest of the world. Let the Congress provide the necessary leadership to serve notice on the rest of the world that from here on the United States shall assume no more than its fair share of the burden of keeping international peace—for others the free ride is over.

Again, I express my appreciation to the Subcommittee for the privilege of speaking on behalf of this very popular and important piece of legislation.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN R. RARICK, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE  
STATE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, since the expulsion of the Republic of China and the admission to U.N. membership of the Communist Party in mainland China, correspondence has been heavy not only from the constituents but also from citizens in various parts of America urging that the Congress take action on the U.N. Some letters call for a deduction in our payments to the United Nations; a considerably larger number urge that we even get completely out of the United Nations and get the United Nations out of the United States.

In view of the grassroots Americans souring on the U.N. as offering any leadership for world peace, I appreciate and welcome this opportunity to offer a statement presenting a case for both limiting our contributions and for rescinding and revoking membership of the United States in the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

A CASE FOR LIMITING FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Consider that the United States is paying from one-third to 40% of the entire cost of the U.N. operations, yet we have one vote out of the 131 votes in the General Assembly and have never used our veto on the Security Council for fear it might offend some Communist country.

In comparison, the Russians who have three votes; i.e., including Ukraine and Byelorussia, pay but 16.5% and of this they are \$82 million in arrears. Of the smaller countries, 54 pay less than 2% each of the U.N. budget and 67 other countries pay but 4/100 percent each. The following chart shows percentage contributions to the United Nations budget which U.N. member nations are expected to pay:

*Percentage contributions to the U.N. budget*

	Percent
United States.....	33.0
U.S.S.R. (including Ukraine and Byelorussia).....	16.5
France.....	6.0
United Kingdom.....	5.9
Japan.....	5.4
China.....	4.0
Italy.....	3.5
Canada.....	3.1
54 countries (each less than).....	2.0
67 countries (each).....	.04

Source: Washington Daily News, Oct. 23, 1971.

No informed person would ever consider the United Nations as being an example of equal rights when over one-half of the voting countries of the U.N. don't even contain as many people as we have in the U.S. with our one vote and direct payment of one-third of the operations.

The manifest illegality in the U.N. is obvious to any observer. It is wantonly misapportioned and could not pass the "one man, one vote" legal formula under which the Members of this House must comply.

The population of the United States is over 200 million, yet 70 member states, or well over one-half of the 127 votes in the U.N., do not have the total population of the United States of America, which has one vote and pays most of the bills. How undemocratic and ill-informed can our leaders be?



The President's home State of California is more populous than 99 voting members of the U.N. Yet Californians are not represented by population for their State.

The District of Columbia, with a 1970 census count of 764,000 people, is larger in population than each of 14 voting members in the U.N. and the District of Columbia citizens talk about being a colony within our country that we of the United States are but a colony of the U.N.

In 1970, the census counted 668,700 American Indians, of which 468,700 live on reservations. Twelve voting members of the U.N. do not represent the population of American Indians who have no vote.

In the United States, there are estimated to be 20 million Negroes, who are constantly being told about the power of voting, yet have never been told that of the 41 votes the African Continent controls in the U.N. only four of the 41 represent people surpassing the American Negro population; that is, Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, and United Arab Republic. Yet the American Negro has no U.N. vote except the U.S. vote for 205 million Americans.

The Jewish population in the United States exceeds 5,800,000 while the population of Israel is but 2,900,000. Yet Israel gets a vote, while America, who pays most of the bills, gets but one vote for 205 million people.

United Nations advocates who call for the "one-man, one-vote" principle to be applied in Southern Rhodesia, are silent with regard to the abuse of this same principle in the United Nations.

For example, of the member nations of the U.N., only India and the U.S.S.R. exceed the United States in population. Yet the United States has one vote, as do all the other nations, while Soviet Russia has three votes. The United States, which has approximately 2,000 times more people than Maldiv Islands, has a vote in the General Assembly that can be canceled by the vote of the Maldiv Islands.

The undemocratic voting apportionment in the United Nations is manifested by the following comparisons:

Asia, with about 10 times the population of the United States, has 2.6 to 1.

Africa, whose total population is about twice that of the United States, has 41 votes to our one vote—a voting advantage of approximately 20 to 1.

Europe, with a population about 2.5 times that of this country, has 21 U.N. votes, or a voting advantage of about 8 to 1.

South America, with a population approximately 10 percent less than that of the United States, has 13 votes to our one for a voting advantage of about 15 to 1.

It is incredible that this great Nation, whose taxpayers foot a larger share of the U.N. bill than any other country, allows its people to be discriminated against in such an unfair and undemocratic manner.

Here is a chart showing statistics on the continents and the United States, population in thousands to the nearest thousand, and numbers of U.N. votes

Continents and United States	Population	Number of U.N. votes
Africa.....	335,916	41
Asia.....	1,946,812	26
Europe.....	454,886	21
North America.....	309,294	12
South America.....	180,057	13
United States.....	205,000	1

Here is another chart listing the member states of the U.N. and population in thousands to the nearest thousand:

#### *Members of United Nations General Assembly*

[Population in thousands]

Afghanistan .....	17,000	Austria .....	7,400
Albania .....	2,200	Barbados .....	300
Algeria .....	14,000	Belgium .....	9,700
Argentina .....	24,300	Bolivia .....	4,600
Australia .....	12,500	Botswana .....	629

## Members of United Nations General Assembly—continued

[Population in thousands]

Brazil	93,305	Luxembourg	400
Bulgaria	8,500	Madagascar	6,900
Burma	27,700	Malawi	4,400
Burundi	3,600	Malaysia	10,800
Byelorussia (SSR)	9,670	Maldives Islands	107
Cambodia	7,100	Mali	5,100
Cameroon	5,800	Malta	300
Canada	21,400	Mauritania	1,200
Central Africa (republic)	1,500	Mauritius	900
Ceylon	12,600	Mexico	50,700
Chad	3,700	Mongolia	1,300
Chile	9,800	Morocco	15,700
China	14,320	Nepal	11,200
Colombia	21,116	Netherlands	13,000
Congo (Brazzaville)	900	New Zealand	2,763
Congo (Kinshasa)	16,400	Nicaragua	2,000
Costa Rica	1,800	Niger	3,800
Cuba	8,400	Nigeria	55,100
Cyprus	600	Norway	3,900
Czechoslovakia	14,700	Pakistan	136,900
Dahomey	2,700	Panama	1,500
Denmark	4,900	Paraguay	2,400
Dominican Republic	4,300	Peru	13,600
Ecuador	6,100	Philippines	38,100
El Salvador	3,400	Poland	33,000
Equatorial Guinea	300	Portugal	9,600
Ethiopia	25,000	Rumania	20,300
Fiji	527	Rwanda	3,600
Finland	4,700	Saudi Arabia	7,700
France	51,100	Senegal	3,900
Gabon	500	Sierra Leone	2,600
Gambia	400	Singapore	2,100
Ghana	9,000	Somalia	2,800
Greece	8,900	South Africa	20,100
Guatemala	5,100	Southern Yemen	1,300
Guinea	3,900	Spain	33,200
Guyana	721	Sudan	15,800
Haiti	5,200	Swaziland	420
Honduras	2,700	Sweden	8,000
Hungary	10,300	Syria	6,200
Iceland	200	Thailand	36,200
India	554,600	Togo	1,900
Indonesia	121,200	Trinidad and Tobago	1,100
Iran	24,400	Tunisia	5,100
Iraq	9,700	Turkey	35,000
Ireland	3,000	Uganda	8,600
Israel	2,900	Ukrainian SSR	43,515
Italy	53,700	USSR	188,563
Ivory Coast	4,300	United Arab Republic	33,900
Jamaica	2,000	United Kingdom	56,000
Japan	103,500	Tanzania	13,200
Jordan	2,300	United States	204,600
Kenya	10,900	Upper Volta	5,400
Kuwait	700	Uruguay	2,900
Laos	3,000	Venezuela	10,800
Lebanon	2,800	Yemen	5,700
Lesotho	1,000	Yugoslavia	20,600
Liberia	1,200	Zambia	4,300
Libya	1,900		

Source: World Almanac 1971

Citizens of member nations of the U.N. except one have voting power from 2 to over 2,000 times greater than that of U.S. citizens. This is rather hypocritical for an organization that preaches one-man one-vote in Rhodesia.



The members of the United Nations, their populations, and the voting power of each citizen in relation to that of each U.S. citizen is shown in the following chart:

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THEIR POPULATIONS, AND THE VOTING POWER OF EACH CITIZEN IN RELATION TO THAT OF EACH U.S. CITIZEN

[In thousands]

Member	Population	Vote	Member	Population	Vote
Maldives Island	94	2,008.0	Madagascar	6,262	31.0
Iceland	190	1,030.0	Iraq	7,004	24.0
Malta	324	600.0	Austria	7,195	27.0
Gambia	324	600.0	Uganda	7,270	27.0
Luxembourg	329	595.0	Cuba	7,336	27.0
Gabon	454	432.0	Ghana	7,500	26.0
Kuwait	468	420.0	Sweden	7,661	25.0
Cyprus	587	334.0	Saudi Arabi	8,000	25.0
Mauritania	780	252.0	Bulgaria	8,144	24.0
Congo (British)	900	218.0	Byelorussia	8,454	23.0
Trinidad and Tobago	947	207.0	Greece	8,480	23.0
Mongolia	1,019	193.0	Chile	8,492	23.0
Panama	1,210	162.0	Venezuela	8,772	22.0
Central African Republic	1,320	148.0	Kenya	9,104	22.0
Costa Rica	1,391	141.0	Portugal	9,107	22.0
Libya	1,559	126.0	Malaysia	9,137	22.0
Nicaragua	1,597	123.0	Nepal	9,388	21.0
Togo	1,603	122.0	Belgium	9,428	21.0
Jamaica	1,728	114.0	Tanzania U.R.	10,046	20.0
Albania	1,814	108.0	Hungary	10,120	20.0
Singapore	1,820	109.0	Ceylon	10,965	18.0
Jordan	1,860	105.0	Australia	11,185	17.0
Paraguay	1,949	100.0	Peru	11,357	17.0
Lebanon	2,152	91.0	Algeria	11,500	17.0
Sierra Leone	2,183	90.0	Netherlands	12,124	16.0
Honduras	2,200	89.0	Formosa	12,293	16.0
Dahomey	2,244	87.0	Morocco	12,959	15.0
Somalia	2,250	87.0	Sudan	13,180	15.0
Liberia	2,500	78.0	Afghanistan	13,800	14.0
Israel	2,523	78.0	Czechoslovakia	14,058	14.0
Burundi	2,600	75.0	Congo (L.)	15,300	13.0
New Zealand	2,627	75.0	Colombia	15,434	13.0
Uruguay	2,682	74.0	South Africa	17,474	11.0
El Salvador	2,824	69.0	Romania	18,927	10.0
Ireland	2,849	69.0	Yugoslavia	19,279	10.0
Laos	3,000	65.0	Canada	19,571	10.0
Rwanda	3,000	65.0	Argentina	22,045	9.0
Niger	3,193	61.0	Ethiopia	22,200	9.0
Senegal	3,400	58.0	Iran	22,860	9.0
Guinea	3,420	58.0	Burma	24,229	8.0
Dominican Republic	3,452	57.0	United Arab Republic	28,900	7.0
Zambia	3,600	56.0	Thailand	29,700	7.0
Bolivia	3,653	55.0	Turkey	31,118	6.0
Norway	3,704	54.0	Poland	31,161	6.0
Ivory Coast	3,750	54.0	Philippines	31,270	6.0
Malawi	3,753	52.0	Spain	31,339	6.0
Chad	4,000	49.0	Mexico	39,643	5.0
Guatemala	4,284	46.0	Ukraine, U.S.S.R.	44,636	4.0
Mali	4,394	45.0	France	48,492	4.0
Haiti	4,551	43.0	Italy	52,639	4.0
Tunisia	4,565	41.0	Great Britain	54,006	4.0
Finland	4,603	42.0	Nigeria	56,400	3.0
Denmark	4,773	41.0	Brazil	78,809	2.0
Ecuador	4,877	40.0	Japan	97,350	2.0
Upper Volta	5,000	39.0	Pakistan	100,762	2.0
Yemen	5,000	39.0	United States	194,539	1.0
Cameroon	5,103	38.0	U.S.S.R.	229,100	.9
Syrian Arab Republic	5,399	36.0	India	471,627	.4
Cambodia	5,740	34.0			

U.N. BUILDINGS—KOREAN WAR—VIETNAM

And these U.S. contributions to the U.N. do not include our usual out-of-proportion lives and equipment (30,000 killed and billions of dollars) that went into the U.N. war in Korea to hold condemned aggression by the new face of the China representative and the Chinese Communist Party in the U.N. Nor do the U.S. contributions include the U.S. outlay in South Vietnam which is also another U.N.-controlled war where the majority of the casualties and costs are

at the suffering of the American people. Nor do the U.S. contributions include the U.S. \$65 million interest-free loan to build the U.N. headquarters, the \$6,200,000 Ford Foundation grant to build the Dag Hammarskjöld library, the \$8 million John D. Rockefeller contribution for the land and the \$26,500,000 contribution by the City of New York for adopting the site.

From the preceding discussion and statistics, it is obvious that the present method of assessing the amount of contributions by member nations is discriminatory and unfair to the citizens of the U.S. What is the present method or formula of arriving at the "assessment" if it is not by population or voting right? Apparently, there is no formula. Some individual or group at the United Nations arbitrarily decides what member nations must pay. Fairness demands that the contribution of the United States should be greatly reduced so that our contribution bears to the total U.N. budget the same ratio that our population bears to the total population of member nations as the United Nations.

#### A CASE FOR TOTAL U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM THE U.N.

Our people are being mentally conditioned by the world's finest opinion molding machinery—told time and time again—that the United Nations was formed and is necessary to promote peace and fundamental human rights. Yet in the past 32 years, the people of 32 countries on the average of one per year have been enslaved under communist imperialism. Millions have reportedly been denied basic human rights, subjected to cruel treatment and been murdered by the despotic rulers of Russia and Red China. Yet the U.N. as an instrument of peace has done nothing about these human rights violations nor has one Red Colony been granted self determination or independence from communist domination by the United Nations.

If the U.N. or anybody else can tell us what to do, and make the order stick, then the U.N. and not the American people nor Congress nor the President is running our country. We've either been conquered and have lost our independence, or we have been tricked and are in the process of losing it all in the guise of peace. If we do not wake up and break free before a whole series of "mandatory provisions" get us tied hand and foot we are finished as a nation!

An increasing number of Americans are demanding an end to the Viet Nam War, by complete withdrawal and permitting these allies to lose their freedom and dignity to Communism. The policy of the Nixon Administration is not to win—Mr. Nixon's international policies are the UN policies.

In 1969, Averill Harriman is reported to have stated publicly:

"Winning the war is not our objective, and the American press and people should understand and not talk about winning the war."

Our President's rhetoric is UNism, he talks about winning the peace. The UN talks of peace in New York City, the UN talks peace at Panmunjon and we carry on in Paris but more American soldiers die in Viet Nam. For what? If winning the war is not our objective, then what are we in Vietnam for? Answers to the questions are to be found in the United Nations.

If the purpose of the U.N. is to put an end to aggression, why isn't it actively involved in trying to bring the war to an end? The U.N. did nothing about the Russian invasion of Hungary. The U.N. did nothing about the recent Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Yet, when the anti-communist forces of Moise Tsombe were opposing the communist forces in Katanga, the U.N. sent forces to oppose the anti-communists. U.N. forces bombed hospitals and innocent civilians, raped and pillaged—and UNICEF consented to allow \$10 million of its funds to be used to support the effort! This was to advance world peace or communism. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, the U.N. passed a resolution that member nations institute an economic boycott and embargo—acts of limited warfare—of that friendly, anti-communist nation. President Johnson on January 7, 1969 sent to Congress a letter and his Executive Order No. 11419. He stated in this letter that his Executive Order prohibits virtually all financial transactions (and also trade) between the U.S. and Southern Rhodesia. Why did he do such a thing? In the same letter to Congress, the President wrote that he did it because of the mandatory provisions of the U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 253.

Twenty-six years ago, Communists Molotov, Hiss, and Pasvolksy so wrote the United Nations Charter that member nations engaged in a war should not fight entirely on their own but under the guidelines set by the United Nations.



Our Constitution vests in Congress the power to declare war. Yet, we are in a war without a declaration by Congress. Why? President Johnson stated on January 10, 1967:

"We are in Vietnam because the United States and our allies are committed by the SEATO Treaty to act to meet the common danger of aggression in Southeast Asia."

UN men fought under the U.N. Command in Korea. Thirty thousand Americans were killed, over 120,000 were injured, and thousands were captured and some are still prisoners of war. Billions of dollars were wasted and after years of fighting, Americans still die and the enemy Red China is seated in the U.N. We are still in Korea 17 years later seeking to win peace by talking.

Now we are fighting communists in Viet Nam under similar conditions. Some say that the U.N. is not involved in Viet Nam and that the Viet Nam war is entirely an action of SEATO, which includes the United States.

The statement is misleading and not entirely true. It is true we are in Viet Nam because of SEATO. President Johnson and our U.S. State Department have so stated yet South Vietnam is not a signatory or member of SEATO. SEATO is a collective defense arrangement under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. The SEATO Treaty (Manila Pact) itself states:

"The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations . . . to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with purposes of the United Nations. Measures taken . . . shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations."

Since the present Administration has issued no denial of this reason for our being in Viet Nam, it is reasonable to assume that the reason is still valid.

Consider that article 4, paragraph 1, of the SEATO Treaty provides that military "measures taken to repel aggression must be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations."

This is in compliance with article 54 of the UNO charter commanding that "the Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements." In our SEATO involvement, in which Vietnam is not a party, every activity—every command of our military—must be reported to the UNO Security Council.

Since 1946, the post of Under Secretary General for Political and Security Council Affairs in the United Nations Organization, with one 2-year exception, has been held by a Russian officer. The exception was a term held by a Yugoslavian Communist. The post is presently held by Leonid N. Kutakov of the Soviet Union.

That Vietnam is a UNO war is clear by the language in the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. The Gulf resolution at section 2 provides:

"Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with this obligation under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force . . . in the defense of its freedom."

Section 3 of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution provides that it shall expire "when the President determines that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by the action of the United Nations or otherwise."

In Vietnam we fight another UNO war. This time under the American flag—but without national leaders bound by treaty not to win nor end the war—except at the discretion of the United Nations Organization.

And, by the same treaty, we are restrained from offensive action. We are limited to "repel" or "defend." It does not permit pursuit, and precludes victory—because it is impossible to win when you can't advance, and when every operation must be approved by the real enemy, sitting in New York at the head of the UNO military committee.

Just as there has been no end to Korea, there can be no end to Vietnam—nor any peace, unless we repeal the UNO Participation Act, or we breach our mistaken allegiance to that organization.

By the resolution at hand, we are further subordinating the office of President of the United States and the powers delegated to us by the American people to the UNO for supreme control over the Vietnam situation. After 15 years of struggle and loss of the substance and the men of America, any solution achieved under the resolution would be considered to the credit of the UNO in the eyes of the world.

In my humble judgment the enactment of this resolution is far more than an emotional appeal to support the President and bring peace to Vietnam. The resolution has no legal effect. It cannot help the United States, but it could prove a wedge to further polarize our people. It contains within it the seeds of destruction and includes an appeasement guaranteed to result in lengthening the war—not bringing peace. There remain many questions unanswered.

Now the U.N. General Assembly has purported to censor the Congress for the Military Procurement signed into law November 17. By the U.N. vote of 106 to 2 that unelected body of "peace" workers who ignore wars and slavery by some of its own members would purport to dictate to our country on matters which the people's elected Congress felt were essential to the common defense of our country.

It shall become more and more realistic to the American people that we can only exist as the USA or as a puppet State of the U.N. The U.N. seeks power and has become a de facto World government organ. As such, Section 104 of Public Law 92-77, 85 Stat. 250 provides that all funds appropriated for such intended contributions should be cut off immediately. Needed, are only attorneys with the filing fee.

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SEC. 104. None of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used (1) to pay the United States contribution to any international organization which engages in the direct or indirect promotion of the principle or doctrine of one world government or one world citizenship; (2) for the promotion, direct or indirect, of the principle or doctrine of one world government or one world citizenship.

This title may be cited as the "Department of State Appropriation Act, 1972."

The most cogent of all reasons for U.S. withdrawal from the U.N. is that the U.N. is a Godless institution. God and religion are excluded from all proceedings of the U.N. How can any world leader expect to shut out God from the considerations of world affairs and expect to promote peace with freedom? "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

There can be no United Nations as intended by the U.N. bureaucrats and at the same time a sovereign United States. There can be only one or the other. And those of us who are Americans and understand the protections we so take for granted under the U.S. Constitution which are known by no other people on the face of the earth are not willing to surrender our country or our freedoms to the whims of that motley bunch of U.N. bureaucrats who clapped in glee and danced at the U.N. vote expelling Nationalist China and admitting Communist China. I leave to your imagination what this bunch would do to our liberties and property if they ever got complete control of the United Nations.

There is only one real solution to the whole mess. Congress should enact legislation to remove us completely from the U.N. trap before we are so weakened and entangled that escape is impossible. We have a job to do. We must restore American independence now. If America is to remain free, that is mandatory.

I have filed discharge petition No. 10 to discharge H.R. 2632, a bill introduced by Congressman John Schmitz of California, which would rescind and revoke membership of the United States in the United Nations and its specialized agencies and for other purposes. Passage of H.R. 2632 would remove the U.S. from the U.N. and the U.N. from the U.S. It would enable us to achieve the American dream which is freedom—not peace at any cost.

The text of H.R. 2632 follows:

#### H.R. 2632

A BILL To rescind and revoke membership of the United States in the United Nations and the specialized agencies thereof, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That from and after the effective date of this Act the ratification by the Senate of the United States on July 28, 1945, of the United Nations Charter, making the United States a member of the United Nations, be, and said ratification hereby is rescinded, revoked, and held for



naught; and all Acts and parts of Acts designed and intended to perfect and carry out such membership of the United States in the United Nations are hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That from and after the effective date of this Act all Acts and parts of Acts designed and intended to make the United States a member of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, or any of them, are hereby repealed; and all executive agreements, international undertakings and understandings, however characterized and named, designed, and intended to make the United States a member of the specialized agencies of the United Nations are hereby rescinded, revoked, and held for naught.

SEC. 3. That from and after the effective date of this Act any and all appropriations for defraying the cost of the membership of the United States in the United Nations or in specialized agencies thereof are hereby rescinded and revoked; and any unexpended and unencumbered balances of any such appropriations shall be coerced into the general fund of the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 4. That the International Organizations Immunities Act of December 29, 1945 (59 Stat. 669; title 22, secs. 288 to 288f U.S.C.), be and it is repeated; and any and all Executive orders extending or granting immunities, benefits, and privileges under said Act of December 29, 1945, are hereby rescinded, revoked, and held for naught.

SEC. 5. This Act may be cited as the "International Organizations Rescission Act of 1969."

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STATEMENT OF HON. J. KENNETH ROBINSON, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE  
STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to submit a short statement in support of H.R. 11492, of which I am a cosponsor.

The United Nations has become a disappointment through its manifest inability to deal effectively with major threats to world peace, but I continue to believe that an international forum of this kind is useful—and we can persist in the hope that it still might become a major force for stability and cooperative effort, in a world which exists under the cloud of nuclear arms competition.

Many of our citizen-taxpayers have come to resent, however, that they are called on to pay what they regard as an excessive share of the costs of an organization which, in recent years, has seemed to have become a center of anti-American expressions and actions.

Even if we discount the understandable emotional overtones of domestic criticism of the United Nations, there remains the fact that the relative abilities of member states to pay for support of the organization have changed markedly since the founding in 1945. Major nations then devastated by World War II now are economically strong, and well able to contribute more.

Looking to the United States to "make up the difference" when other nations of adequate means do not pay their assessments, no longer is justified. It is an accommodation which has become, I believe, increasingly unacceptable to the American taxpayer.

I want to emphasize that I am not rigid in my sponsorship of a new dues and assessment formula based on relative populations, but I do believe population is a reasonable basis for arriving at a new definition of "fair share" in regard to our support of the United Nations—and the support to be provided by other nations, large and small.

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THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION IS NOT "THE LAST BEST HOPE OF MANKIND"

(Speech by the Honorable John P. Saylor at United Nation's Day Dinner, St. Tobias Club, Brockway, Pennsylvania, October 24, 1971)

Acknowledgments.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am cautious, curious, and frankly surprised that I would be invited to address anyone on the subject of the United Nations.

My record of opposition to the U.N. spans two decades.

I have not been particularly circumspect about my criticism.

You are gathered here today to do honor to what has been called "the last great hope of mankind." You are convened to pay homage to—as I have heard it—the reason we have not been involved in World War III.

If you sincerely believe that the United Nations is the last great hope of mankind; that it is the only reason we have escaped a nuclear holocaust; both because of the existence of the organization—then I must warn you now, you may not like the tenor of my following remarks.

I will make my position clear with two statements:

First—to categorize the U.N. as the last great hope of mankind is to give up hope on mankind. If the U.N. is the best that mankind can do in terms of keeping the peace, then certainly, based on historical fact, there is no hope.

Second—the only reason we have not faced World War III, the nuclear holocaust war, is simply that the United States has been too strong—militarily, morally, and economically—for any potential aggressor to chance the certain destruction of itself along with the rest of the world.

If that sounds a bit nationalistic or a bit on the flag-waving side, then so be it.

Upon these points I feel justified in launching a critique of the United Nations.

Twenty-six years of existence as an organization has convinced many to believe the U.N. is effective. Far too many of these fervent believers have failed to examine the reality of the organization.

The fervent believers have concentrated on the dream. The dream of what they want the U.N. to be, rather than on what it is.

History is unkind to the dreamer. History records what happened to the people of an era, not what the people wished to happen.

For those who dream of a secure world through the U.N., the organization has become a sacred cow. Some token criticism of the U.N. is always advanced by these partisans, and then dismissed as reflecting the faults of the nation-state system within which the U.N. must operate.

Those who dream of a fairytale world where sophisticated diplomats calmly and rationally solve world problems, fail to see the flaws in the idea based on the objectives of some of the participants in the real world.

Like it or not, the United Nations is influenced by the will of international communism. The Soviet Union has demonstrated its narrow-minded self-interests time and time again in the Security Council. There is no reason to expect the Red Chinese to act otherwise should they gain a foothold in the organization after the current debate.

Because of the preponderant communist interests in the United Nations, the world organization has been unable to act effectively in confrontations between the free world and communist bloc countries.

In Korea, for example, the U.N. was only able to intervene because the Russians walked out of the Security Council. But even then, the United Nations was not able to conclude the dispute.

In fact, no single dispute has been resolved by the United Nations with finality. The list includes Suez, Korea, Laos, Tibet, and Cyprus.

There are those who say the answer to this criticism is to give the U.N. teeth. Give it the military might necessary to back up its positions.

The lack of military backbone is admittedly the major reason for the impotence of the organization. It could not enforce a decision even if it were capable of reaching a coherent one. Authority to prevent war requires means of coercion—economic, military, and moral. Stripped of military force and the power to impose economic sanctions and boycotts, the U.N. stands naked and impotent—nonwithstanding the current boycott on Rhodesian goods. The only reason that boycott works is because of the wrongheaded action of the United States.

If the United Nations had military strength it could back-up its now empty pleas. But let me quote the best source on this subject—Secretary-General U Thant:

"There are a number of reasons why it seems to me that the establishment of a permanent United Nations force would be premature at the present time. I doubt whether many governments in the world would yet be prepared to accept the political implications of such an institution, and in the light of our current experience with financial problems, I am sure that they would have very serious difficulties in accepting the financial implications."

The Secretary-General lays it on the line—the idea of a militarily effective U.N. force remains another impossible dream.

Despite the outward appearance and the hoopla in the press, no worldwide decisions are made in that great glass monolith at Turtle Bay. That edifice, mind you, which was donated by Americans and financed by the American taxpayer.

The appearance of legitimacy is a very thin veneer. Just about the only substantive decisions the U.N. can make involve decisions as to where to send health



teams. And, just for the record, the World Health Organization is an outgrowth of many years prior to 1945, of international understanding and treaty cooperation. The U.N. did not create world agreements on health matters.

Beyond sending health inspection teams, the diplomatic receptions and cocktail parties serve not the masses of desperate underprivileged, but the pleasures of an elite.

Yes, an elite force of strident voices from Nations with no more creditability than those make-believe nations founded at universities across our country to participate in Model United Nations activities.

The United Nations can be criticized heavily for contributing to the zeal of nationalization rather than hastening its decline as its founders dreamed.

New nations whose borders were determined more or less accidentally in the wake of colonialism are striving to present an image greater than that warranted by their achievements.

Some of these new Member States, most of them small ones in Africa, only recently emerged from colonial status and have no viable basis for an independent and prosperous economic existence.

The one-man, one-vote concept cherished by the U.N. certainly finds little practice in that body. Representation in the U.N. has no egalitarian justification whatsoever; small states rank with large ones.

And lest you forget—remember that the United Nations would never have come into existence if the United States had not allowed the U.S.S.R. extra voting power in the original General Assembly by allowing Byelorussia and the Ukraine to have separate representation. By all rights, we should have extra votes for Texas and California.

Of the 130 Member Nations, 72 have populations smaller than New York City, yet each is treated as a sovereign equal in the General Assembly.

I do not quarrel with the concept of two different bases for representation such as the House and Senate of the United States Congress. But where, I ask you, is the counter-weight to the General Assembly? Surely, it is not democratic or republican to have five nations as the counter-weight.

The smallest of the U.N. Members is the Maldives Islands, a former British Colony in the Indian Ocean, with a total population of less than 100,000. There are now 130 Members of the U.N. and at least 60 new "nations" will be seeking membership in the future.

As you know, membership is open to all peace-loving states that accept the obligations of membership and are able and willing to carry out these obligations. However, most of these states have little if any experience in international affairs, lacking in number sufficiently educated leaders required to build nations with responsibilities as U.N. members. Yet here they are, with pomp and ceremony, draining their small economic resources, putting on a huge show of respectability in the meeting rooms of New York.

These "mini-states" control a majority of the votes by combining as the Afro-Asian Bloc. Together these states form voting alliances that impede effective action by following only regional interests.

And more and more, the reason for bloc voting is not on any great principle of morality, or peace or war, but rather, who is to foot the bill for this or that project of economic upgrading back home.

And you know who ends up footing the bill!

The major reason for the failure of the United Nations is the attitude of the communist countries toward the organization and the altruistic and noble ideas which founded it.

The record clearly shows us that the U.S.S.R. is not interested in making the U.N. effective in peacekeeping, unless U.S.S.R. interests are served first. Here are a few instances of non-cooperation and direct flaunting of the United Nations Charter by the Soviets:

1. Invasion of Hungary in 1948 and complete oblivion to General Assembly resolutions deploring the attack.
2. Division of Berlin and continuing refusal to permit the U.N. to consider the issue as one affecting the peace of the entire world.
3. Military aid to North Korea, in spite of the United Nations-sponsored defense of South Korea.
4. Interference in the Congo to foment internal strife even while the United Nations was attempting peacekeeping actions.
5. Repeated attempts to immobilize the U.N. Secretariat by calling for the appointment of a "troika" administration.

6. Constant use of the veto in the Security Council to stop meaningful peace-keeping activities, even when approved of by a majority of the General Assembly.

7. Refusal to pay their share of United Nations dues for peacekeeping.

A good example of the U.S.S.R.'s duplicity in this last issue occurred after the June 1967 war between the Arabs and Israel. Having bet on a loser in that conflict, a bet which cost many lives and displaced a million refugees, the Russians turned the tables and asked for peacekeeping funds despite their refusal for 15 years to pay a fair share of the cost of the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Gaza Strip.

Thus, the Soviet Union uses the U.N. as an instrument of its foreign policy, utilizing or ignoring the U.N. depending on whether or not it can serve the communist interests. The Soviets continually block effective U.N. action by use of the veto and use the Security Council merely as a launching pad for tirades against the Free World.

To summarize—the U.N. lacks objectivity, balance and maturity. Its decisions are politically motivated and sometimes distorted by evasion, improvisation and a double standard of morality.

Because the U.N. cannot act without Great Power unanimity, the organization becomes helpless in any major crisis. The U.N. is unable to insist that all Members share costs of its maintenance and to end quarrels within it. The U.N. is chronically in debt and, consequently, limited in its capacity for action.

The U.N. remains a dream. A dream we helped to foster, to support, to finance, and we work within its rules. But a dream is a dream. I suggest that in a world full of threats and dangers to peace, a wide-awake view of world politics is advisable.

The threat to the peace of the world is not a dream. The wide-awake American foreign policy is to remain militarily and economically strong.

The fate of the United Nations organization is based on one simple premise—the United States is strong. Without that strength, there would be no United Nations for the dreamers.

Thank you.

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STATEMENT OF HON. SAM STEIGER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Mail from my constituents demands that some change be made in our relationship with the United Nations. Frankly, a majority of the mail demands our immediate expulsion of this organization from this country. It would be a mistake for us here in the ethereal smog of Washington to overlook the sincerity of Western thinking in its opposition to the expulsion of a legitimate member of the United Nations. The United Nations has failed miserably in every criteria set forth by its founders. It has not kept the peace; it has, in fact, fomented bloodshed in the name of political pressure groups within its membership. The question is not one of whether or not changes need be made—but rather one of how much change should be made. Shall we accept the truth that it is a failure—abandon it and begin again with a new forum? Or shall we adjust our membership to a more meaningful role and work for change within the present set up?

The people of this country, my constituents and yours, have paid over 35% of the expenses required to keep this exercise in futility afloat. Let us today serve the people of this country, and put the people of the world on notice that they must bear equal share. America should pull its fair share—no more; our contribution must not exceed what the citizens of any other country must sacrifice.

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CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF,  
Washington, D.C., December 13, 1971.

HON. DONALD M. FRASER,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Foreign Affairs Committee, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FRASER: This is to request that the views of the Citizens Committee for UNICEF on the subject of determining an appropriate level of United States contributions to the United Nations Children's Fund be included in the record of Hearings before your Subcommittee.



The organizations comprising the Citizens Committee for UNICEF have a long history of opposition to the philosophy of a restrictive formula for *voluntary* giving. From 1954 when the decision for such a limitation was acted upon, our cooperating organizations have been on record in opposition to a rigid limiting formula. (It should be pointed out here that we take no position in regard to the financial support for the United Nations itself and other UN agencies because the mandate from our cooperating organizations applies only to support for UNICEF.)

To cite a few examples:

On June 22, 1954, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations our testimony states:

"We hope that the Congress will authorize and appropriate the full \$13 million, and will not restrict the contribution by the application of a rigid matching formula. . . ."

Again, on March 14, 1958, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs we urged that every penny of the amount requested by the Executive Branch be contributed to UNICEF without restriction.

"... we oppose the imposition of a further reduction this year in the matching formula. . . ."

And later in the same testimony,

"We earnestly request, therefore, that the Members of this Committee express to the State Department their recommendation that no further reduction in the percentage formula for the United States contribution be required in 1959."

On the basis of this consistent position we must, therefore, oppose the proposals for a formula based on population as offered in several bills now before this Subcommittee. We also oppose an arbitrary limitation of the U.S. contribution to UNICEF to 25%. We were pleased with the view expressed by Mr. Samuel De Palma, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, in his statement before this Subcommittee on December 2, 1971, when he observed: "Insofar as voluntary contributions are concerned, we now contribute at varying rates—depending on our interest in the program. . . ." A decision to determine the contribution to each organization individually makes great sense.

Our organizations stress again that each contributing government should support the Children's Fund to the best of its ability irrespective of any so-called matching percentage. Although the fact is that UNICEF's resources have increased during the past 16 years as more countries have begun to share in its support, we do not believe that a strong case can be made that this increase in financial resources is necessarily due to the existence of a matching formula. We consider the growth of support for UNICEF to be a consequence of the merits of the program and the increasing value the developing countries place on the importance of providing adequately for their children.

In short, the very idea of an arbitrary percentage restriction on what is intended to be a *voluntary* gift is distasteful and unworthy of the best instincts of the American people. Moreover, a contribution is not altogether voluntary if it is not free from constraints such as a limitation to an assessment or other fixed rate. If there were flexibility to determine the amount of the contribution in relation to the level of the needs of children which UNICEF can reasonably plan to assist with efficiency, that would be a more suitable yardstick for "voluntary" support. We urge this Subcommittee not to support a percentage formula for voluntary gifts to UNICEF.

It should be realized that the input of funds by governments which UNICEF assists is many times greater than the amount of UNICEF aid itself. In considering the share which the United States Government contribution forms of total resources involved in the process of rendering aid, the financial investment by the assisted governments in the social and humanitarian development of their countries must not be overlooked. Lest any Member of Congress be concerned about the level of the United States contribution on a percentage basis, as long as there exists the general assurance that UNICEF continues to operate on the premise that assisted governments carry the major responsibility for providing the bulk of required funds, the U.S. contribution will remain a worthwhile and proportionately modest investment.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) VIRGINIA M. GRAY, *Executive Secretary.*

